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B. Documents (3, Armature; 4, Grades and commissions; 5, Military instructions; 6, Incidents; 7, Personalia; 8, List of Regiments)

By F. W. THOMAS

(Concluded from p. 400)

3. *Armature*

21. M.I., vii, 59 *bis* (wood, c. 18 × 2·5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 3 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ༄ | : | blon . Gtshug . bzaṅ . la | ya . lad . stod . | gsum || blon . [A 2] Phya (Dgra ?) . bžer . la . ya . lad . stod . gñis | stag . Gtshug . bzaṅ . la [B 1] ya . lad . stod . gñis || Guṅ . Rgya . legs . la | ya . lad . st[o]d . gñis | [B 2] blon . Stag . sgra . la . g-[1]ya . lad . stod . gchig || stag . Stag . rtsan . la | ya . lad . stod . gchig | Dpal . bžer . la . ya . lad . stod . gchig ||

"To Councillor Gtshug-bzaṅ upper helm-and-corslets three; to Councillor Phya-bžer upper helm-and-corslets two; to Tiger Gtshug-bzaṅ upper helm-and-corslets two; to Guṅ Rgya-legs upper helm-and-corslets two; to Councillor Stag-sgra upper helm-and-corslet one; to Tiger Stag-rtsan upper helm-and-corslet one; to Dpal-bžer upper helm-and-corslet one."

[1] *g* crossed out.

Note

Ya-lad is given in the dictionary with the meaning "helm and corslet", "coat of mail" (perhaps in one piece): *stod*, "upper," in this connection may mean "outer", as in *stod-gos*, "overcoat," or "for the upper part of the body". From the document it is evident that such protective armature was usual, at least for persons of rank and "Tigers" ("braves"? ; cf. Forsyth, *A Mission to Yarkand*, p. 13).

22. M.I., xl, 8 (wood, c. 11 × 1·5–2 cm., complete, slightly curved ; hole for string at r. ; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

◉ | mdaḥ.dar.sni (*for* sne *or* rñi ?).can.gsum

"Arrows with silken nooses, three."

Possibly the silk string served for recovery of the arrow after emission.

Cf. M.I., xiv, 142, and lviii. 007 (*infra*, p. 539).

23. M. Tāgh. c. ii, 0053 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

◉ || mde : ḥu.thuṅ.gi.gžu.gchig

"Bow for short arrows, one."

Mdeḥu recurs M.T. a. iv 0026, c. iv, 0025 (*mdehu-thuṅ-mkhan*, "short-arrow man").

24. M. Tāgh. b. ii, 0044 (wood, c. 22 × 2 cm., complete ; hole for string at l. ; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso*, in columns, of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ◉ || Ṅen.kar.gyi.sde.De.ga.Lha.skyes phub
[A 2] rje . blas . dgon . gi . hsar . byaṅ
[A 1] la : (ral.?) ral. mdaḥ : gžu.rgyud
[A 2] gyu.ma gyu.bca ḥchan(?) daṅ.chas (gcig ?)
[B] | do.sgye(ḥ ?) | ḥurdo | mdaḥ.ral.[kh]od(ṅ ?)

"Ṅen-kar regiment : equipment ticket of his eminence De-ga Lha-skyes, *dgon* :—Armour (or breast-plate) ; knife without haft (?) ; knife with haft (?) ; arrow ; scissors (?) ; bow with string ; bags, two ; sling ; arrow and knife pouch."

Notes

This document is interesting as illustrating the case of a monk—for such the "eminent Lha-skyes of De-ga" (on which see *supra*) clearly is—acting as a *dgon* or archer's comrade, a relation which we have had a previous occasion for noting. Secondly, it exhibits probably the complete outfit of a *dgon*. In several points the reading or meaning is doubtful: thus *ḳchan* "scissors" is not certain, though probable, and the reading of the last syllable as *khod* and its interpretation as *khud*, "wrapper," or *khud-pa*, "pouch," are somewhat conjectural; but there is no difficulty in *gyu-ma* and *gyu-bra* = *yu-med* and *yu-bras*, while *sgyi* and *sgye* can both mean "bag", and *ḥurdo* (*ḥur-rdo*) is certainly "sling". In M.I., xiv, 006, we have *mdaḥ . gźu . . . bchan*, "arrow, bow, scissors (?)."

25. M.I., xiv, 39 (wood, c. 20·5 × 1·5 × ·75 cm., complete; hole for string at l.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script, faint and partly erased).

[1] ❦ | . | Rgod . tsaṅ . smad . kyi . sde . mdaḥ . [g]źu : mdaḥ . ral . gyi (*for* gri ?) . phub . . . [2] [Lba ?]m . Klu . spe . bśar . . [bdu?] . . (stsa ?)l . (khog—(n?) ?] -ma . [bla] . . [dar . daṅ ?]

"Lower Rgod-tsaṅ regiment: arrow, bow, arrow, knife (-pouch ?), armour . . . sent . . . equipment [for] [Lba ?]m Klu-spe . . . with banner (?)."

Notes

This is plainly similar to the preceding. *Bśar* is clearly identical with the *bsar* of that passage: *glaḥ-dar* has occurred in M.I., iv, 71 (= *bla-dar* "a little flag" ?).

26. M.I., lviii, 007 (wood, c. 19 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, faint).

[A 1] ❦ || . [gyi ?] . lha . ḥi . mṅan . sraṅ . ra . skyes . bźin . bzaṅs . gcig | skyem[s] [A 2] rdzi(e) . ḥu . gaṅ . co . ga . skyems . rdze . ḥu . gaṅ . phye . bre . gaṅ . mar . sraṅ . gci[g] [B] śiṅ . ris . gcig . mda[ḥ] . dar . sna (*sic*) . can . gcig

"Of . . . *lha*, one government balance, large, in the form of a he-goat (?); drinking-cup, one, full; *co-ga* drinking-cup, full; flour a full *bre*; oil one ounce; wood, one bundle (?); arrow with silken string, one."

Notes

The meaning of *co-ga* ("lark": in M.I. 0018 *cog* or *tsog*) is not known: *ris*, for which the rendering "bundle" is suggested, usually means "figure", "outline", "quarter"; *res*, "time" (i.e. "allowance") may have been intended.

27. M. Tāgh. a. iv. 0057 (wood, c. 12·5 × 1·5–2 cm., somewhat burnt away at l.; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of square *dbu-can* script).

❤ ¦ Rgyaḥi . mduṅ . rtse . bcu

"Chinese spear-points, ten."

28. M. Tāgh. c. i, 0026 (wood, c. 13 × 1·5–2 cm., complete; somewhat curved; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] ❤ ¦¦ Rgya . khrab . ma . ḥbriṅ . rim . dgu . pa [B] gsum

"Chinese bucklers (or mail-coat), medium, with nine rows (*or* with nine medium rows): three."

The "rows" may point rather to bucklers than to mail-coats, both of which senses are given in the dictionary.

29. M. Tāgh. c. ii, 0021 (wood, c. 12·5 × 1·5–2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

❤ ¦¦ Byi . byar . gyi . khrab . ma

"Buckler of Byi-byar."

Apparently Byi-byar is a personal name.

30. M. Tāgh., 0353 (wood, c. 15 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 (mostly erased) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ❤ ¦¦ spaḥi . gñer . las . cag . grugs . su . byuṅ . ste . ma . [A 2] lom . baḥ ¦ *mdeḥu* . *thuṅ* . *gi* . *gž*[*u*] . *gñis* ¦ *Li* . *gž*[*u*] . [*y*]*aṅ* [B] [mo] . gsu[m]

"From the man in charge of ornaments (?), broken and

unserviceable (?) bows for short arrows, two; light Khotan bows, three."

Notes

ma-lom-baḥ appears to be unknown: possibly it means simply *ma-lon-pa*, "not arrived."

4. *Grades and Commissions*

31. M.I., vii, 33 (wood, c. 20 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.: ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ❁ || bdag . ṅan . paḥ || sug las | tu . ḥtheb . tu . bskos . pa las || sug rjed kyi . sr[o]ḥ . ma . zin [A 2] nas || da. duṅ . gi . bar . du . | sug . rjed . ma . thob . pa || bkaḥ . [drin] . yaṅ . chad[u] . ḥchald . par . gyur . na | [B 1] Ḥdzom . stod . kyi . sde || ru . ña . cuṅ | do . cig . yul ḥbrosu . mchi . mchi . [ba] . las || slar . babs . nas . | [B 2] gżi . la . mchis pa || bdagi . sug . rjedu . stsald . par | bkas gthad par thugs pags ci mdzad ||

"Your humble servant, when appointed in succession to a duty, did not receive a *sroḥ* (nit = "bit" ?) of commission. Down to the present time he has not got a commission. If ratification was kindly intended, please trouble to send orders that the minor *Ru-ña* of the Upper Ḥdzom regiment, who at present, after going about roaming the country, is returned and is on the spot, should send my commission."

Notes

A 1, *ḥtheb-tu*, "in succession." Does this mean "in due course of promotion" or "in succession" to another ?

sug-rjed, "hand-memorandum," is given in the dictionaries as meaning "a mark of honour as a reward"; but here and again (*infra*, p. 564) it evidently corresponds to what we understand by a "commission" or formal appointment to a function. See p. 390, and add M.I., iv, 40.

A 2, *bkaḥ-drin-yaṅ-cha[d.d]u*: This might mean "to ratify the kindness"; but *bkaḥ-drin* seems sometimes to be used adverbially. Is *ḥchald* from *ḥchel* "desire" or *ḥchol* "appoint" ?

B 1, *Ḥdzom-stod-kyi-sde*: Concerning this regiment see p. 558.

ru-ña-can: Cf. M.I., vii, 9. Since the term *ro-ña* occurs elsewhere (*infra*, p. 543) as a military title, this should be likewise.

32. M. Tāgh. a. iv, 0074 (wood, c. 19·5 × 2·5–3 cm., cut and broken at l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 4 *recto* + 3 (a different hand and subject) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] *Legs*. khri : ḥi. mchid. gsol. baḥ. bkaḥ. yig. spriṅs [A 2] . . . d-. bro. rmas. pa. dg-r. ḥtshal. de. bri. ni. ma. ḥtshal. bar. ches . so : rjed. phyis. de. ḥtshal [A 3] . . . [ciṅ]. mchis. len[1]. len . du . gtaṅ . ba . lagsna . de . las . na . der . skur . bar . thugs spag. [A 4] [c]ir. mdzadna.

"Letter-petition of Legs-khri: that I was glad of your having sent your commands and inquired after [my] illness I certainly need not write. The soldier-memorandum (*so-rjed*), which is delayed, I am desirous (of having) and I have sent to get it. So please trouble to sent it there (here)."

Notes

A 1 2. *dgar-ḥtshal* . . . *ḥtshal-bar-ches*: The phraseology is unusual.

so-rjed: "Soldier-memorandum" (or commission); see p. 390. In a. ii, 0048 we read *gsaṅ-skyold-du-mchis-na-so-rjed-mchi-ham-myi* "as I am come on secret convoy, is the *so-rjed* coming or not?"

A 3, *der* "there" for "here" seems to be epistolary.

33. M.I., vii, 16 (wood, c. 8 × 3 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 3 *recto* + 1 *verso* of inelegant cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ◉ gyab. Lha. ston. gyi. glaṅ. [A 2] gchig ‖ Myes. bo[r] [A 3] daṅ ꞉ Myes. mthyoṅ [B] la. kha. bstan ꞉

"One ox belonging to *gyab* Lha-ston, promised to Myes-bor and Myes-mth(y)oṅ."

On *gyab* see p. 389.

34. M. Tāgh. c. iii, 0048 (wood, c. 9·5 × 1·5–2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

◉ ꞉ ꞉ ꞉ sro ꞉ Dgyer . sto ꞉

"*Sro* Dgyer-sto."

[1] *n* below line. *len* seems to be repeated in error.

On *sro* see pp. 389, 555.

35. M.I., xli, 0013 (wood, c. 8·5 × 2–2·5 cm., broken away at l.; in two pieces of equal size; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] . . . pan . skyes . dba[ṅ] . bgyid . pa . las [A 2] . . . blas . Tshls[1]. byiḥi . ru . dpon . du . bskos [B 1] . . . ḥbrugi . lo . la . ni | Ña . bzaṅ . gis [B 2] . . . rmos | sbrul . gi . lo . la . ni | Laṅ.

"After the administration of [Ḥ]p[h]an-skyes . . . appointed by [His Excellency] brigade-commander of Tshal-byi. . . . In the Dragon year ploughed by Ña-bzaṅ; in the Serpent year, Laṅ . . ."

On *ru-dpon* "brigade-commander" see pp. 380, 388; on Tshal-byi, 1928, p. 555. . . *blas* is perhaps for *rje-blas*.

36. M.I., xlii. 006 (wood, c. 8·5–9 × 2 cm., broken away at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script, in part faded or erased).

[1] ༄ | . | mchibs.[d]pon | g-os [2] kyo.Yor.go |

"Horse-commandant *g-os-kyo* Yor-go."

On *mchibs-dpon* see pp. 384, 382.

37. M. Tāgh. b. i. 0093 (paper, fol. No. 37 in vol., c. 6 × 1·5 cm., a discoloured fragment; ll. 1 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, obscure).

[A 1] . . . dpuṅ.pon.chen.po ||

[B 1] . . . bul(dul ?).rtsaṅ[s] (snaṅs ?).chuṅs.[m] . . .

". . . major troop-commander . . ."

On *dpuṅ-dpon* see pp. 386, 388.

38. M.I., xiv, 0012 (wood, c. 17 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ༄ || ṅos . pon . mthoṅ . khyab . gyi . sde | bag . ṅu . sṅva . ma (*n . chad ?*) . ro . ña . pra . mo . yan . [2] chad . | so . ñul . du . mchi . ra . sug . las . bgyi . baḥi . rtsis . mgo

"Region-commander-watchtower regiment: list of work to be done by *bag-ṅu-sṅva* down to minor *ro-ña* going on secret service."

[1] Compendious for *Tshal*.

Notes

l. 1, *ńos-pon*: "commander of a direction" (i.e. of a frontier in one of the four directions). Recurs M.I., xiv, 7; xxvii, 7. *bag-ńu-shva* and *ro-ña*: See *supra*, p. 389. *pra-mo* = *phra-mo* "little".

l. 2, *so-ñul*: See p. 391.

rtsis-mgo: See p. 390.

39. M.I., xiv, 0062 (wood, c. 9 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

❁ | . | bag . ño . shva . g-yon . |

"Left-hand *bag-(r)ño-shva*."

40. M.I., lviii, 001 (wood, c. 11 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

❁ | mthon . khyab . gyi . sde . bag . ra . Khri

"*bag-ra* Khri of the Watch-tower regiment."

41. M.I., xxvii, 4 (wood, c. 11 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at each end; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

❁ | : | bag ra . Bźa(i !)hi . mchid . gsol . ba |

"Letter-petition of *bag-ra* Bźa (*or* of four *bag-ras*)."

42. M. Tāgh. b. ii, 0042 (wood, c. 13-13·5 × 2 cm., practically complete; hole with string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script; *verso* also ×).

[A 1] ❁ | . | Stag . skugs . na . | sña . śur . Bań . tshe . | ri . zug [A 2] paḥi . brg[y]ags . | so . Sl[u]ńs . la . btań . ba . rnsu . [B] skyol . chig |

"Mountain-sickness provisions for *sña-śur* Bań-tshe in Stag-skugs: to be handed to [a] Sluńs soldier and conveyed in haste."

On *sña-śur*, *ri-zug*, and *Sluńs* see pp. 389, 385–6. The phrase "to be handed to [a] Sluńs" recurs in c. iii, 0016 and 0047, and it is evident that the Sluńs people furnished the army messengers, police, servants, and camp-followers. On *Stag-skugs* see 1930, pp. 265 6.

5. *Military Instructions*

43. M. Tāgh. a. v, 002 and 0031 (wood, two adjoining pieces, together c. 11·5 × 2·5 cm., broken away at l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 3 *recto* + 3 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] . . . rtsald . pa : | dbyard . sla . tha . cuṅs . tshes . gsum

[A 2] . . . -u . rtsig . paḥi : dusu : bsñeṅs : par : thugs : [A 3] . . . d : | bag . ma : ḥdor . bar : | ñin : ra . sa : mtho . žiṅ : ||

[B 1] . . . [da]ṅ : | rdul . mgo : ji . gdraḥ (gdaḥ) . ba : brtag : | mtshan . žiṅ : [B 2] . . . -om : ji . grag . pa : yaṅ : ñin . gyi : ñin : ra . da[ṅ :] [B 3] . . . : mthoṅ . tshor . na : | Ñam . ru . pag : gi : |

"sent. Take care to arrive on the third day of the last summer month at the time of building. . . . Putting away carelessness, the day encampment being high ground, mark . . . and what dust and heads appear; at night . . . what sounds. For the day look for and examine the day encampment and . . . Of Ñam-ru-pag . . ."

Notes

A 3. *bag-ma* seems to be = *bag-med*. *ñin-ra* = "day-enclosure", here and in B 5. In Khad. 037 we read *mtshan-yaṅ-rkaṅ-ra-dmadu-gzu[ṅ]* "at night again the bundle-enclosure (*rkaṅ-ra* 'foot-enclosure'?) taken on low ground (*dmadu*?)".

B 3. *Ñam-ru-pag-gi*: The instructions are apparently for a company of the (oft-mentioned) Ñam-ru-pag regiment, on which see p. 563.

44. M. Tāgh. a. v. 007 (wood, c. 13·5 × 2·5–3 cm., broken away at r.; ll. 3 *recto* + 3 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ❦ | . | stso(so ?) : sa : ḥdi : rnams : gyi . tshugs : pond : so . tshor . . . [A 2] la : so . sa : gžir : phyind . par . mchi . la : | do . cig . Pe[ḥu ?] . . . [A 3] chuṅ . baḥi : | śas : gyaṅ . mchis : pas : | le . lo : ma . bg[y]i . . . [B 1] gs[o]l : ba : nas . | ñin . žiṅ . yul . gyi . dbyaṅs : [p?] . . . [B 2] my (rgy ?)— . bar . tsag . tsig . daṅ : | rta . sgra . lhaṅ . b[tsh]er : daṅ : dgra . g . . . [B 3] mtshan . gyi : mye[l] . tse . dgu : dam . du . tsugs : la : | dgra . byuṅ . [b] . . .

"To the sergeant and company of soldiers [in charge] of these contributions. . . . While the contributions are on their way to reach the place, as at present there is in Peḥu (rtse ? mar ?) but little, it is requested that there should be no carelessness. In the day-time the country sounds . . . rustling (?) and clear neighing of horses and enemy . . . Halt during nine watches of the night. An enemy having appeared . . ."

Notes

Analogous directions for caution on a march have been exemplified (1928, p. 588). On *tshugs-pon*, *so-tsho*, *myel-tshe* see pp. 386, 388, 386, respectively. The "nine watches" of the night may be "nine watchmen" or "all the watches". *Tsugs* (from *ḥdzugs*) = "halt" is conjectural.

45. M. Tāgh., 0485 (paper fragment, c. 21·5 × 3·5 cm.; ll. 4 *recto* + 3 *verso* of clear, regular, *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] . . . sña . nas . . .

[A 2] bdaḥste | gdugs . mtshan . spy[odna . . . -y] . . . [*bsl-bs-mu* . chä] || [r]ka . tsam . gnug (bżag ?) . [*pa*] : ṅan . . . . .

[A 3] bżin . drug . du . mchi || lag . pon . daṅ . mtshon . cha . daṅ . ldan . ba . thab . mo . pa . dag . ni || dgra . mgo . ci . ltar . g . . . .

[A 4] pon . kyi . cha . skad . sdod . chiṅ | ḥbros . khu[ṅ] . daṅ . thab . sa tsam . dag . kyaṅ . btsal(s ?) . te . gżi . na . bsdad . la || . . . .

[B 1] bgyi . ḥtshal[1] . baḥi . skad . chig . mchis . na . yaṅ || sna . la . rta . pas . | dgras . śul . du . tshog . myi . rdzis . paḥi . chos . [su] . .

[B 2] mchi : | myi . bdar . daṅ . gnag . [-o . . —— -i . . . .] [duṅ (chiṅ ? riṅ ?)] la.thug.ste.[śu]l.naṅs.su.mchi[s (n ?)] . . .

[B 3] . . . [rmi.che = (mi ?)]

[A] ". . . in front (*or* first) . . . driving . . . marching day and night . . . the troop should go in six like . . . The workmen and the armed fighting men, on seeing enemy heads . . . The

[1] *l* below line.

troop of . . . waiting a moment, after scrutinizing avenues of flight and battle-ground, should wait in its place. [B] If some news of an intended . . . comes, in the van horsemen should go in the manner of pioneers checked by the enemy on the way. If falling in with men in arms and . . . they should retreat . . ."

Notes

The document is fragmentary and accordingly in places obscure.

A 2, *rka(ska)-tsam-bżag* : " Halt for a moment " ?

A 3, *mgo-ci-ltar* : On " seeing heads " cf. 1928, p. 588.

B 1, *dgras-śul-du-tshog-myi-rdzis-pa* : An obscure expression, *tshog* = *rtsog* ?

B 2, *bśar* : On this word see pp. 538–9.

śul-nans-su : " On the road of retreat " ? Concerning *nańs-su* see 1927, pp. 1817–18.

6. *Incidents*

46. M.I., x. 3 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., complete (in two pieces) ; hole for string at r. ; ll. 2 *recto* + 3 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, in part faint).

[A 1] ❤ || brgyags . byań . ma . mchis . ḥbum . ltogs . la . cug . paḥ || mńaḥ . bdag . chen . [A 2] poḥi . sñan . myi . slebs . po [1] . la | bla . ḥog . [na]s | dbu . yugs . smad . la . dńańsu (?) [2] [B 1] bgyid . de || [sno ?] . gze . dań . glan [3] . ḥtshal . dag . kyań . mchisna . | sdum . bt[ab] . dgra[sla] . . . [B 2] ba . [b]usmad . [g]cońs [4] . kyi . bar . du . || bla . ḥog . [nas] . sus . kyań . myi . gtse . żiń . | ph[a (phra ? pha ?) . miń . dar] [B 3] [stoń . sdeḥi] . [ḥo]g . du . mchis . su . stso[l] . [c]ig . pa (?) | Nob . ched . poḥi | rtse . rje . la . bkās . gtad . pra (par).ci.gnań

" In regard to certain comers, friends (servants ?) of a great person in authority, who are without a provision-ticket and reduced to hunger, high and low bowing their

[1] paḥi ? [2] dńań-can ?
[3] glon ? [4] gteń yo ? gteń | so ?

head-wraps to insult and seeking to mend their old vessels (?), be pleased to send orders to the chief official of Great Nob that, while they lament their homes and families . . . the enemy, no one high or low should harm them, and that they with their little brother (?) should be allowed to go down to the Thousand-district. . . ."

Notes

A 1, *brgyags-byaṅ* : No doubt, a ticket authorizing receipt of provisions.

A 2, *sñan-myi* : This may mean either " friends " (*sñan*, " dear ") or servants (*sñan*, " hear ").

dbu-yugs . . . *glan* : Reading in part uncertain and translation conjectural. *Dbu-yugs* should mean " head-wrap " (= turban); *glan* or *glon* may mean " lend ", but it may come from *len* " take ", and the sense may be that people are insulting them and seeking to rob them.

B 2, *phra-miṅ-dar(n)* : Can this mean " with their little brothers " ?

stoṅ-sde : This may be the *governor of* the Thousand-district, as 1928, p. 584.

47. M.T., 0488 (paper, c. 22 × 5 cm., fragmentary at l. (?), r., top and bottom ; ll. 5 *recto* of good *dbu-can* script + l. 1 *verso* in an inferior hand).

[A 1] . . . n d-ṅ . ch . . . . . . [g] . . . y- . [s]l-r . ḥduste . m[chis] . . .

[A 2] . . . kugs . gy- . g-y[o]n . l-nd . to | ḥog . pon . ni . mye . skrad . gth-ṅ . paḥi žal . ta . dan . ñin . raḥi . sto . . .

[A 3] . . tshugs . pon . gcig . bu . ḥtshal . pa . dmyig . skyo . pas . so . [ye] . myigis . myi . tshor . par . [mchis . pa] . . .

[A 4] . . . ni . ḥog . pon . man . cad . pyan . g-yog . yan . cad . rta . sor . [byed] . [paḥi . myi . de] . las . -e . . .

[A 5] . . . pa . sug . las . gžan . ni . mamchis . [pa] . . -i

[B] : . . . g- . gsold . ci . g

" . . . being again united, went . . . avoided (*g-yon-lend*) the fire. The corporal . . . the service of putting out the fire

and . . . of the day-encampment. . . . The sergeaunt who wishes to be alone, being of a quarrelsome (?) disposition, went unperceived by the alert-eyed soldiers. . . . The . . . from corporal down to cook's mate . . . from those men who were (that man who was) causing the horses to run away. . . . The . . . who had no other task. . . ."

Notes

The incident is one in which a squad, with a sergeaunt and corporal, encounters difficulties, its encampment being fired and the horses scared away. The fragmentary state of the document obscures the details. Concerning *ñin-ra*, *tshugs-pon*, *ye-myig*, *ḥog-pon*, and *byan-g-yog* see *supra*. *Mye-skrad* (from *skrod*), "put out" the fire, is probable; *dmyig-skyo* "fancy-quarrelsome (*or* sorrowful)".

48. M.I., x, 2 (wood, c. 15·5 × 2 cm., slightly cut away at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 3 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, *verso* in part very faint).

[A 1] ༄ || dpen . baḥi . žo . śa . ḥbul . ḥbul . baḥi . dgras . bkum . baḥi [A 2] [bu ?] . smad . ḥkhor . yul || chis . [skagsu (dag ?)] . chań . khyur . spyan . gyi[s] . ḥtsho[l] [B 1] cig . ce[s] . ž[an . lon] . ched . poḥi . mchid . kyis . kyań . bcad || khri . dpo[n] . dań [B 2] stoń . pon da[g . g] i . . || [žig] . la . -e . ma . ži[ń (g ?)] || chi . . . gy- [B 3] ḥtshal . bas || gu[m] . kya[ń] . my[i] g[tsi] . bar . || Nob . ched . poḥi . rtse . rje . [b]la . ḥog

"The great Uncle Councillor has by letter ordered that the families of those killed by the enemy while bringing offerings of useful contributions should upon their arrival in the territories administered be interviewed by the *chań-khyur*, the commandants of Ten-Thousands and the commandants of Thousands should [*do no harm to any of them: whoever seeks to harm them*] is not to [receive consideration] even when dead—[orders from] the chiefs in command of Great Nob, superior and inferior."

Notes

A 1, *dpon-baḫi-to-ba* : See 1927, p. 75; 1928, p. 584.

A 2, *ḫkhor-yul-chis-skagsu* : We have translated *ḫkhor-yul-mchis-skabsu*. *Ḫkhor*, however, could be taken with *bu-smad*, in the sense of "and belongings". *Skagsu* could mean "in ill-luck".

chan-khyur : An official designation, perhaps of a general nature (= "chief officials"): see 1927, pp. 77, 79.

B 1-2, *khri-dpon*, *ston-dpon* : The commandant of a "Ten-Thousand" (district) is obviously superior to the commandant of a Thousand, concerning which office see p. 382. Both are civilians. The original text perhaps continued *dag . gis* || *żig . la . gtse . ma . żig* || *chu (cis) . gtse . bgyir . ḫtshal . bas*

B 3, *bla-ḫog* : Perhaps the intended meaning is "*to all*, superiors and inferiors, [gives instruction]."

49. M.I., xxviii, 0023 (wood, c. 11 × 2 cm., broken away at l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of neat, clear, *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] . . . sp[e (?)] skun . kar . gyi . slad . rol . żin . tog . du | [A 2] . . . [y]as . gtses . śin . glan . ka . bgyid . du . yan . glo . ba [B 1] . . . [-i(e ?)] . du . mchis . pa | ḫthol . żin . mchis . na . [B 2] . . . [-i]s . myi . gtshe . bar . chi . gnan . żes . gsol . te.

" . . . in the fields (*żin-tog* (? *thog* ?) outside the fort are being harmed by . . . and are tempted (*glo-ba-ñe-du*) to make reprisals (*glan-ka*). Being engaged in digging (*ḫthol*), . . . beg [you] to allow no [one] to harm . . ."

On *skun-kar* (*sku-mkhar*) see p. 386. *Ḫthol* (with *btol*, *gtol*) probably means "dig": but in the Tibetan Chrönicle (ll. 20, 134) it occurs several times with the sense of "bury", which perhaps it has here (as also in M.I., vii. 3 and 20; xix. 002; M. Tāgh. 0293).

50. M. Tāgh. 001 (wood, c. 20·5-21 × 2 cm., somewhat broken away at r., upper and lower corners; hole for string at r.; ll. 3 *recto* + 3 (mostly erased) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] . . . gsol . ba . thugs . bde . bar . smon . mchid . yi . ge . las . sñun . gsol [2] . . . n . so . ñul . [las] . gnan . ba . tsam .

rahs . bdag . ṅan . pa . yaṅ [3] . . . [ch-d . s-g ?] tsha . bo . ḥi[1] . rgyags . sn[o]d . gal . du . naṅ . mtshal (= nan-rtsal ?) . chad . ḥdi [4] . . . myi . las . Mes . slebs . Ḫu . ten . [du] . . . [B 1] . . . [khor] . žag . du . mchis . pa . mchis : || yaṅ . ri . zug . dag . ni . maṅs . pa . daṅ . dgra [B 2] . . . [n . chad . du . myi] . bzaṅ . bas . yar . byin . na . ruṅ . ba . ḥdra || mchid . yig . sṅa . phi . gsum [B 3] . . . n . mchis . sam . ma . m[chis] : žal . m[ja]ḥ . gyi . bar . [du] . thugs . bde . žiṅ . la . žal . myu[r . du] [B 4] m[ja]ḥ . [bar . smon . ciṅ . mchis] | |

". . . petitions : Prayers for (your) happiness : this letter is to inquire after (your) health. So far as I hear from the soldier spy, it is excellent. Your humble servant has exerted himself for the transmission of grandson . . . 's provision basket (?). Of the men here Mes-slebs has gone on leave to Ḫu-ten. Also there are many mountain-sick : being no good for . . . an enemy, it looks as if they ought to be let go up. Have the three letters, prior and later, come, or not ? Until we meet face to face may you be in good spirits : I am praying for an early meeting face to face."

On *khor-zag* "leave" *see* p. 398 ; on *ri-zug*, pp. 385–6 ; *yar* (B 2) "up" might mean "back to Tibet" or "back to headquarters (Śiṅ-śan ?)".

51. M. Tāgh., i, 0014 (wood, c. 12·5 × 1·5–2 cm. ; incised lines and notches *recto* and *verso* ; large notch in bottom centre ; hole for string at l. ; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ❤ | . | dgra . byuṅ . śor . dag . | [2] chad . |
|

"Punished (executed) for flight on appearance of enemy."

Similar punishment for cowardice is reported in M. Tāgh., 0206, and a. v, 0012, and b. i, 0036b (?).

7. *Personalia*

52. M. Tāgh. c. ii, 006 (wood, c. 14·5 × 2 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] *ṅi* (?).

[A 1] ༄ | : | Ho . tsho . pagi . sde . Ho . ru . Pyi . tshab . | so . la . btus pa . las [A 2] bro . htshal . nas | so . la . m[ch]i . bahi . rño . mi . tog . nas . ko . [B 1] na . stoṅ . sde . naṅ . du . sña . śur . slog . ta . daṅ . so . sña . pyir . sde . [B 2] brjes . te | slog . ta . res . la . Pyi . tsab . mchi . bar . bgyis . |

"Ho-ru P[h]yi-tshab, of the Ho-tsho-pag regiment, having after joining service, fallen ill, and being unable to go on service, it was arranged that he should exchange service earlier and later with a *sña-śur* returning to the Thousand-district and that P[h]yi-tshab should go in place of the returning man."

Notes

A 1, *so-la-btus* : On the phrase see p. 386.

stoṅ-sde : The Thousand-district is, no doubt, Ho-tsho-pag.

B 1, *slog-ta* : Apparently a technical term, denoting a man released from military service. Concerning *sña-śur* see p. 389.

53. M. Tāgh., 0019 (wood, c. 14·14·5 × 2·5-3 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; ll. 3 *recto* + 3 *verso* of squared *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ༄ | . | jo . co . Khri(o ?) . bžer . daṅ . tsa . bo . Cuṅ . ra . dan . Cuṅ . hbriṅ . la . | Hpan . s[gy]e . [A 2] s . gyi . mchid . gso[1] . ba . Stag . cun . gi . tsal . ma . tsam . žig . ma [A 3] r . ma . skur . na . kho . yan . lbegs : sde . hgum : žiṅ . mchis . b [B 1] dag . cag . hi : htsal . ma . la : yaṅ . gnod . ciṅ . mchis . na . skur . [B 2] bar . gsol : yar . gtaṅ . du . ni . mchi . bahi . rno . myi . thog . ciṅ . [B 3] mchis : | da . lta . ni . tsal . ma su . mnar . ciṅ . mchis : na : |

"To lord Khri(o ?)-bžer and grandsons Cuṅ-ra and Cuṅ-hbriṅ : letter petition of Hpan-sgyes. Stag-cuṅ's rations, any at all, not having been sent down, he has died by suicide (hunger, *lbegs* ?). My own rations also having been injured, please send. As for dispatching [a message] up, it is not possible to go. At present I am where rations are . . ."

[1] *l* omitted.

Notes

A 1: On *tsa-bo* "grandsons" see 1930, p. 262. Cañ-ra and Cañ-ḥbriñ are, doubtless, sons of Khri-bžer.

A 3, *lbegs*: = *lcebs*, found *supra*, 1927, p. 81 ?

B 3, *su-mnar-ciñ* ?

54. M.I., vii, 46 (wood, c. 14·5 × 1·5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ❦ || byi . ba . bgyis . pa . khrims . che . la . thug . pa . || dmag . pon . dañ | [2] spyan . gis . dbyoñs . dkyigs . [la] . gsol . cig ||

"One who, having done his duty, has met with a heavy sentence begs for a personal interview with the general."

Notes

spyan-gis-dbyoñs: "interview with sight." On *dbyoñs*, from *ḥbyoñ-pa*, see 1927, pp. 72, 844.

dkyigs: This is perhaps the word *dkrig*, given in S. C. Das' dictionary as meaning "personally".

55. M. Tāgh. c. i, 0030 (wood, c. 13·5 × 1·5–2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of squarish *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ❦ || nañ . rje . po . blon . Lha . bžre [1] . gi . ža . sñar || Gyi . na [A 2] riñ . gi . mchid . gsol . ba . Mars . Lha [2] . rma . ḥi | [B 1] rkub . bcad . bar . ci . gnañ . Gyi . na . riñ . gyañ . rkub . bcad . [B 2] bar . gsol ||

"To the presence of Lha-bžes, minister of internal affairs: petition of Gyi-na-riñ. Thanks for the *rkub-bcad* of Mars Lha-rma. Gyi-na-riñ also petitions for *rkub-bcad*."

Rkub-bcad, which in Sanskrit would perhaps be *pāyu-cheda*, is perhaps some surgical operation: since the request comes from the person concerned, it can hardly be disciplinary.

8. *List of Regiments* (*sde*)

(N.B.—Regiments certainly belonging to Tibet proper, about twenty in number, are distinguished by a *.)

Bar-khoḥi-sde (Bar-kho unknown).

[1] Compendious for *bžer*. [2] *Lag* (?).

56. M. Tāgh. c. i, 001 (wood, c. 11 × 1·5–2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] ❦ | . | Bar . khoḥi . sde | Rlaṅ . Gyer . bu . cuṅ . [B] bḥi . bcuḥ . rtsa . lṅa . chad |

"Bar-kho regiment: Rlaṅ Gyer-bu minor punished forty-five (stripes ?)."

Ḅron-tsham-gyi-sde. See *Ḥbroṅ°.*

Bzaṅ-Ḥor-gyi-sde ("Good Hor regiment").

On the Good Ḥor and on the Ḥbroṅ-tsams regiment see 1931, p. 882, and *infra*, p. 557. respectively.

Further mention of the same regiment in M. Tāgh., 0345, a. iii, 0013, quoted above and a. iv, 0026, b. i, 002, c. ii, 0046, c. iii, 0060.

* *Dags*(or *Drags*)*-po-sde* (Dags-po, a Tibetan tribal division).

57. M. Tāgh., 0332 (wood. c. 14 × 2 cm., broken away at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

❦ | . | Dags . po . sde | Se : Khlu : rton

"Dags-po regiment: *Se* Khlu-rton."

Se is perhaps a military title: see *supra*, p. 389.

Dgyes-sde (Perhaps a special kind of troop; on *dgyes* or *sgyes* see *JRAS*. 1930, p. 263, and *supra*, p. 385).

58. M. Tāgh., 0351 (wood, c. 15·5 × 2 cm., broken away at r., ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script, very faint).

[1] ❦ | . | Dgyes . sde . [po] . Chuṅ . ra . daṅ . [Snaṅ] . bżer . la . . . [2] gyis . rmas . na . ph[y]ogsu . thugs . b[de . ba . żes .] . .

"To Chun-ra and Snaṅ-bżer of the Dgyes regiment . . . it having been stated by . . . that [you] on your part are happy . . ."

Further mention in M. Tāgh. a. ii. i, 0011, 0097, c. ii, 0017.

* *Dor-te-ḥi-sde* (Dor-te (*or* de), a Thousand-district in Tibet, as noted *supra*)

59. M.I. 0034 (wood, c. 8 × 2 cm., fragmentary at r.: l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

|| Dor . tchi.s[d]e | H . . .

"Dor-te regiment : H . . ."

* *Gad-sram-gyi-sde* (Gad-bkram, a Thousand-district of Hgos, in Tibet).

60. M. Tāgh., 0239 (wood, c. 8·5 × 2·5 cm., complete (?); ll. 1 *recto* + 2 (a different hand) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] Ñam . nam . smon . leg |

[B 1] Gad sram . gyi . sde | sro . Tshes . mthño.[1] [B 2] pye. bre . gsum . htshal. |

". . . Gad-sram regiment : *sro* Tshes-mthoñ requests three *bre* of flour."

Sro is apparently a military title : see *supra*, pp. 389, 542.

61. M. Tāgh. a., 4 (wood, c. 13 × 1·5-2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 (in 4 compartments) of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] Gad . sr[am]	gtad . My[o]s	Hb[r ?]ehu . gzig[s]	. . .
[2] s[d]e . la	[rlob]	cad.	

"To the Gad-sram regiment sent [by] Myos-rlob : Hbrehu-gzigs executed . . ." Also in a. iii, 0019, *infra*, p. 556.

Glan-śan-sde

Mentioned in M. Tāgh. a. i, 0021 (fragmentary).

* *Gcom-pahi-sde* (Bcom-pa, a Thousand-district of Cog-ro in E. Tibet).

Mentioned in M. Tāgh. a. ii, 0096, quoted 1930, pp. 51-3.

Gom-pahi-sde (apparently different from the Grom(Hgrom)-pa regiment).

62. M. Tāgh. a. iv, 0037 (wood, c. 12 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

|| Gom : pa : hi : sde : ko : ñan : Pan : legs

"Gom-pa regiment : *ko-ñan* P[h]an-legs."

63. M. Tāgh. a. v, 008 (wood, c. 12·5 × 1·5-2 cm., broken away at l.; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] Compendious for mthoñ.

. . . Gom.paḥi.sde phu.bag.Mu.ne.sta.ṅa |

"Gom-pa regiment: Phu-bag Mu-ne-sta-ṅa."

Phu (Pu)-bag, which recurs *infra*, p. 567, and in c. iv, 0035, may be an official (or local) designation.

Graṅ-brtsan-sde

64. M. Tāgh. b. ii, 0047 (wood, c. 10 × 2·5 cm., broken away at r.; ll. 2 of squarish *dbu-can* script).

[1] ❥ || Graṅ.brtsan.sde | stag.Khri.-[e] . . .

[2] sñiṅ.ñen. | Tro.ki.Min.phan.daṅ | . . .

"Graṅ-brtsan regiment: officer Khri.-e . . . sñiṅ-ñen: *Tro-ki* Min-phan and . . .

Tro-ki is probably a surname.

65. M. Tāgh. a. vi, 0020 (wood, c. 11 × 2·5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script, obscure and dirt-encrusted).

[1] ❥ . . Graṅ.[brts]an.gyi.sde.gyerd | [2] Kho[ṅs] . . .

"Graṅ-brtsan regiment: *gyerd* Khoṅs . . ."

Gyerd is perhaps an official title: see *supra*, p. 389.

* *Grom-paḥi-sde* (*Ḥgrom-paḥi-sde*, q.v.).

Gyar-skyaṅ-gi-sde (*Yar-skyaṅ-gi-sde*, "Yarkand regiment," q.v.).

* *Ḥbro-mtshams-kyi-sde* (Ḥbro, a tribal district in Tibet).

66. M. Tāgh. a. iii. 0019 (wood, c. 14 × 2–2·5 cm., broken away at l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, in part faint).

[A 1] . . . [l ?] . Khyun . daṅ . | Bro . tshams . gyi . sde . Rgya . Dred . po . daṅ . | Ḥbro . [rgya ?]

[A 2] . . . [kh ?]-ṅ . gyi . sde . Dgro . Legs . [z]i[gs] | daṅ . Ga . sram . gyi [sd ?]e . [Rgya ?]

[B 1] . . . bžer.gyis | | Skyaṅ . po . Lha . goṅ . daṅ .

[B 2] . . . | gy . . lṅa . ky—[s] . Rma . . . khri . la . [sprin̄o ?]

". . . Khyuṅ, and of the Bro-tshams regiment Chinaman Dred-po, and of the Ḥbro . . . kh—ṅ regiment Dgro Legs-zigs,

and of the Ga[d]-sram regiment Chinaman (?) . . . bàer : along with Skyaṅ-po Lha-goṅ . . . : by [these] five sent to Rma . . . khri."

Khyuṅ and *Skyaṅ-po* are, like *Ḥbro*, tribal designations (noted *supra*). *Ḥbro . . . kh—ṅ* is perhaps = *Ḥbroṅ-khoṅ*, and *Ga-sram* is the *Gad-sram* recorded in this list. *Dgro* is perhaps the *Sgro* Thousand-district of Tibet.

Ḥbrom-gi-sde

Mentioned in M. Tāgh. a. i, 0031, quoted *supra*.

* *Ḥbroṅ-mtshams-kyi-sde* (no doubt connected with the Ḥbroṅ district of Mdo-smad in Tibet).

67. M. Tāgh. a. vi. 0019 (wood, c. 12–12·5 × 2 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] ◉ || Ḥbroṅ.tsams.khyi [*sic*].sde.Po.yoṅ.Ḥtus. rma. | [B 1] dṅos.Huten.na.mchis.na.dmag.skyin.nas. g[la] [B 2] thud.ḥbul.lam.myi.ḥbul.rma |

"Ḥbroṅ-tsams regiment · P[h]o-yoṅ Ḥtus(Ḥdus)-rma, at present in Huten, inquires whether from what is owing to the army (*dmag-skyin* ?) extra wage (*gla-(ḥ)thud*) is, or is not, paid."

The place-name *Pho-yoṅ* (*g-yoṅ*) is known as surname of a Tibetan queen : *see* S. C. Das' *Dict.*

68. M. Tāgh. c. ii, 0046 (wood, c. 11·5 × 2·5 cm., complete ; hole for string at l. ; ll. 3 *recto* of square *dbu-can* script + 2 *verso* in a more cursive hand).

[A 1] ◉ | . | Bzaṅ : Ḥor : gyi | sde : Ḥzaṅ . Ma . brid || Śaṅ . sde : Briṅ . [A 2] legs . Moṅ . | Broṅ | tsham : gyi : sde : Be : sna .

[A 3] Mṅal.pan.Mu.Śan.doṅ.

[B 1] ◉ || Bzaṅ.Ḥor | Ḥzaṅ.Ma.brid

[B 2] gyi.[sd]e |

[A] "Of the Good Ḥor regiment Ḥzaṅ Ma-brid ; of the Śaṅ regiment Briṅ-legs, a Moṅ ; of the [Ḥ]broṅ-tsham regiment Be sna ; a Mṅal-p[h]an Mu Śaṅ-doṅ."

[B] "Good-Ḥor regiment : Ḥzaṅ Ma-brid."

Notes

On the Good-Ḥor, Śaṅ, and Mṅal-phan regiments see in this list. Be-sna is perhaps identical with the Ba Snaṅ-rma (of the same regiment) mentioned above (M. Tāgh., 0614).

ḥdzind-byar-sar-lha-mtshoḥi-sde (title imperfect ?)

Mentioned in M. Tāgh. a. ii, 0096, quoted 1930, pp. 51–3.

Ḥdzom-smad-kyi-sde (" Lower Ḥdzom " regiment, Nob region).

69. M.I., i, 6 (wood, c. 6·5 × 1·5 cm., broken away at r. ; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ❦ || Ḥdzom.smad.kyi.sde | ḥo.na[l] . . . [A 2] mkhar.du.ḥph(b ?)yuṅ.ba.las | so.[pa] . . . [B 1] tsan.na. mchis.pa.daṅ | bcu . . .

" Lower Ḥdzom regiment : the *ho-nal* . . . having been into . . . town, soldier . . . was in . . . tsan and ten . . ."

Mentioned in M.I., ii, 25 (quoted *supra*) ; viii, 17 ; xxiii, 109*b*.

On *ho-nal* see *supra*, p. 389.

Ḥdzom-stod-kyi-sde (" Upper Ḥdzom " regiment, Nob region : possibly the Ḥzom-lom-stod of *Ancient Khotan*, p. 569).

70. M.I., ii, 38 (wood, c. 14 × 1·5 cm., complete ; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

❦ || Ḥdzom.stod.kyi.sde | Tshe.spoṅ.Mthoṅ.skyugs

" Upper Ḥdzom regiment : Mthoṅ-skyugs of Tshe-spoṅ (in Tibet)."

71. M.I., ii, 37a (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., complete ; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

❦ || Ḥdzom.[stod.kyi].sd[e].Ldu.Rmol.tsa | -

" Upper Ḥdzom regiment : Ldu Rmol-tsa."

Mentioned in M.I., ii, 17 (quoted *supra*), and vii, 33.

* *Ḥgrom-paḥi sde* (Grom pa, a Thousand-district of Ḥbro, in Tibet).

Mentioned in M. Tāgh. a. ii, 0096, and b. i, 0095 (both quoted *supra*).

Ḥo-tsho-pag-gi-sde

72. M. Tāgh. a. iii, 0012 (wood, c. 14 × 2–2·5 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ❤ | : | Ḥo.tsho.pagi.[sde] | Ña.gsam.Lha.brtsan [2] bśag |

"Delivered by Lha-brtsan of Ña-gram, Ḥo-tsho-pag regiment."

On Ña-gram see 1930, p. 274. *Bśag* in the same sense occurs in M.I. iv, 71, M. Tāgh. a. ii, 0048, etc.; cf. pp. 393, 566.

73. M. Tāgh. c. i, 0010 (wood, c. 11·5 × 1·5–2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script, smudged and partly erased).

[1] ❤ || Ḥo . żo . pagi . [s]de . Khyuṅ . po . [Snaṅ !] . kṅo [1] [2] [ḥog . pon]

"Ḥo-żo-pag regiment: Khyuṅ-po Snaṅ-koṅ, corporal."

Khyuṅ-po is the name of a Tribal division of Tibet.

74. M. Tāgh. c. i, 0031 (wood, c. 14 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script, in part faint).

❤ | : | Ḥo.tsho.pagi.sde | sñe.lo.Ña.*gzigs*. |

"Ḥo-tsho-pag regiment: the sñe-lo Ña-gzigs."

sñe-lo is apparently a military title.

Mentioned also in M. Tāgh. b. i, 0058 and 0095 (quoted *supra*) and c. ii, 006.

Kha-dro-ḥi-sde (Kha-dro, a district in the Nob region).

Mentioned in M.I., xiv. 124 and 129, and xliii, 3.

Khar-sar-gyi-sde. See Mkhar°.

* *Khri-boms-kyi-sde* (Khri-boms, in Tibet).

75. M. Tāgh. c. iv, 0033 (wood, c. 11 × 1·5–2 cm., cut away at bottom: hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ❤ | . | Khri.boms.kyi.sde.Dbyen.Ḥphan. [2] la. r[t]on |

"Khri-boms regiment: Dbyen Ḥphan-la-rton."

Mentioned also in M. Tāgh. c. iii, 0063 and H, 6. *Dbyen* is an unknown surname: *dben* means "anchorite".

* *Khri-daṅ(taṅ)-gi-sde* (Khri-tha, a Thousand-district adjacent to Ḥdre, in Tibet).

[1] For *koṅ*.

76. M. Tāgh. c. iv, 009 (wood, c. 14 × 2 cm., complete as new; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

❦ : | : | Khri : dañ . gi : sde . | Ḫbre : Pan : legs : |

" Khri-dañ regiment Ḫbre (error for Ḫdre or Ḫbro ?) P[h]-an-legs."

77. M. Tāgh. c. iv, 0041 (wood, c. 13-13·5 × 1·5-2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script, in part faint).

❦ || [Khri].dañ.gi.sde gśen.Ci[s].[pā ?] |

" Khri-dañ regiment: the *gśen* Cis-paḥ."

On *gśen* see *supra*, pp. 389 90.

* *Khri-goms-kyi-sde* (Khri-dgoṅs, a Thousand-district of Ḫbro, in Tibet).

78. M. Tāgh., 0382 (wood, c. 14 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 (+ upper parts of another) *recto* + 1 (a different hand) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ❦ | Khri.goms.gyi sde.Ḫol.god.Byañ.bya[ñs]

[A 2] na (cha ?).[bar ?].[pañ].gtogs.te.so

[B] . . [s (l ?)].gyi.bdus ||

" Khri-goms regiment: Byañ-byañs of Ḫol-god . . ."

* *Lan-myi-sde* (Lañ-mi, a Thousand-district of the Pa-tsab, in N.E. Tibet).

79. M Tāgh. a. iv, 0077 (wood, c. 13·5-14 × 2·5 cm., complete; hole for string at r., ll. 2 *recto* of square *dbu-can* script; *verso* 1 *akṣara* of the same).

[A 1] ❦ | : | Lañ.myiḥi.sde.rtsi : Klu : lod : nañ [A 2] gcheg : myi : chad : par rjes gtsbo [B] . . . d

" Lañ-myi regiment: *rtsi* Klu-lod writes requesting . . . not to be punished (?)."

The meaning of *rtsi* and of *gcheg* is unknown; but cf. *tseg* in a. iv, 0068, and *supra*, p. 398 (*tsheg* = *tshegs* ?).

80. M. Tāgh. c, iv, 0034 (wood, c. 10-10·5 × 2 cm., somewhat cut away at bottom; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script, somewhat faint).

[1] ❦ || [L]—.myi.sde. | Kog.Ḫsam.sgyes [2] ḫog.pon
" Lan-myi regiment, Kog Ḫsam-sgyes, corporal."
The surname *Kog* or *Ḫa-kog* recurs *infra*, p. 563, and elsewhere.

81. M. Tāgh. a. iii, 0033 (wood, c. 11 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ❦ | : | Lan.myi.sde Žims.Stag [2] rton
" Lan-myi regiment: Stag-rton of Žims (in Tibet)."
Further mention in M.I., i, 23, and M. Tāgh. a. iii, 0013 (quoted *supra*).

Lhag . . . ḫi.sde
Mentioned in M. Tāgh., 0492 (quoted 1930, pp. 56–7).

* *Lho-brag-gi-sde* (Lho-brag Thousand-district in S.E. Tibet).

82. M. Tāgh. a. ii, 0028 (wood, c. 12–12·5 × 2·5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script, the second l. faint).

[1] ❦ | Lho.brag.gyi.sde.Lbo.kol. [2] [gsol]
" Lho-brag regiment: petition of Lbo-kol."

83. M. Tāgh. c. i, 0023 (wood, c. 12–12·5 × 1·5–2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* of squarish *dbu-can* script).

[A] ❦ || [Lho . brag . gi] . sde . | Sprag . Bsaṃ . koṅ . [B] bzaṅo. |
" Lho-brag regiment: Bsam-koṅ-bzaṅ of Sprag(s)."
Mentioned also in M. Tāgh., 0264.

* *Maṅ-khar-sde* (Maṅ-khar (gar), a Thousand-district of Ḫbro, in Tibet).

84. M. Tāgh., 0343 (wood, c. 12·5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

❦ | . | Maṅ.khar.sde.lă |
" To the Maṅ-khar regiment." Also in a. iv, 0012.

Mkhar-sar-gyi-sde

85. M. Tāgh. a. iv, 0087 (wood, c. 13–13·5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of square *dbu-can* script).

[1] ❤ | : | [M]khar.sar.gyi.[sde] | Mon.chuṅ.la |
[2] gsal [*sic*].pa.

"Mkhar-sar regiment: petition to Mon-chuṅ."

Mṅal-ḥphan-gyi-sde ("Fatigue-benefit" regiment)

86. M. Tāgh. b. i, 0075 (wood, c. 12 × 1·5–2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script, in part faint).

❤ || Mṅu . la [*sic*] . pam [*sic*] . sd[e] . thag . bar . Rtses . phyan.

"Mṅal-ḥphan regiment: middle-rope Rtses-phyan."

On *thag-bar* see *supra*, p. 385.

Further mention in M. Tāgh. b. i, 0022, and c. ii, 0046 (quoted above).

Mṅal-paḥi-sde (possibly connected with the Gñal Thousand-district of S.E. Tibet: but see *supra*, pp. 385–6, and compare *mṅald-paḥi-khri-thag-bar*, 1930, pp. 93–4).

87. M. Tāgh. c. iii, 0017 (wood, c. 13 × 1·5–2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, rubbed and in part faint).

[A 1] ❤ || Skyi.stod.gyi.s[d]e.S-e-.[tsh]al.[gži ?] . . .
[A 2] rñi .[ch ?]en (tshug ?) |

[B] ❤ | : | Mṅal : pa . ḥi : ste :

"Upper Skyi regiment: S-e-.tshal land . . .
Mṅal-pa regiment." Also in c. iii, 0078 (paper).

On the Upper Skyi regiment see *infra*, p. 566.

Mthon-khyab-kyi-sde ("Watch-tower" regiment; cf. *Nos-dpon-mthon-khyab-kyi-sde*)

Mentioned in M.I., lviii, 001 (quoted *supra*) and xxv, 003.

• ***Myan-roḥi-sde*** (Myaṅ-ro, a tribal district in S.E. Tibet).
Mentioned in M. Tāgh. b. i, 0095 (quoted *supra*).

Nag-khrid-kyi-sde (no doubt related to Nag-śod, in the Nob region)

88. M.I., xxviii, 0016 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., broken away at r.; *ll.* 2 *recto* of cursive *dbu-can* script; *verso* traces of script).

[A 1] ❧ | . | Nag (b ?).khrid.gyi.sde.Rgyab.bäer.gyi. mchi . . . [A 2] gsol.bah |

"Nag-khrid regiment: petition of Rgyab-bäer."

Nag-śod-kyi-sde (Nag-śod, a district in the Nob region).

89. M.I., xxviii, 0034 (wood, c. 7–7·5 × 1·5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ❧ | Nag | Ha.kog.Bor |
[2] śod.sde | | rtsan |

"Nag-śod regiment: Ha-kog Bor-rtsan."

Further mention in M.I., ii, 32; xiv, 76 and 124 and 129 (quoted *supra*). On the surname *Ha-kog*, see p. 561.

Ñag-tsveḥi-sde

90. M. Tāgh., 0573 (wood, c. 13·5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at l.; l. 1 of squarish *dbu-can* script).

❧ | : | Ñag.[tshveḥi]: sde : rṅa : Ḥbur . lod |

"Ñag-tshve regiment: *rṅa* Ḥbur-lod."

Rṅa = "drum" or "camel"? Cf. p. 389.

91. H. 3 (wood, c. 14 × 2 cm., complete; ll. 2 *recto* of square *dbu-can* script; l. 1 *verso* in a somewhat different hand).

[A 1] ❧ || Ñag.[tsh]veḥi.sde.Skyar.Klu.gzigs | daṅ. res.kyi.s[ṅa].thus [A 2] Lde . . . gyi.sṅa.thus.khyiḥi.lo.pã |
[B] Śiṅ.śan.

"Ñag-tshve regiment: with Skyar Klu-gzigs in succession first called up Lde . . . the first called up of the Dog year. Śiṅ-śan."

Ṅam-ru-pag-gi-sde (Ṅam-ru district in Tibet ?).

92. M. Tāgh. c. i, 007 (wood, c. 13·5–14 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

❧ | . | Ṅam.ru.pagi.sde.śeḥu.Klu.brtan

"Ṅam-ru-pag regiment: *śeḥu* Klu-brtan."

On *śeḥu* see *supra*, p. 389.

Further mention in 0263, 0522; i, 0015; a. v, 002 and 0031; c. ii, 0042; v, 0036 (quoted *supra*) and a. iv, 0033; b. ii, 0038; c. ii, 009; c. iii, 005; c. iv, 0040.

• *Ñen-kar-gyi-sde* (Gñen-dkar, a Thousand-district of Laṅs, in N.E. Tibet).

93. M. Tāgh., 0193 (wood, c. 14·5 × 2 cm., complete; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] Ñen.kar.gyi kho.ṅam.Ña.legs |

[A 2] sde

[B 1] rtse.rje.chu.ṅuḥi.sug.[rje]d.ḥtshal.žiṅ.khrom.du [B 2] mchis |

"Ñen-kar regiment: *kho-nam* Ña-legs, in the city desiring a commission as Under-Chief."

On *kho-ṅam(n)* and *sug-rjed* see pp. 390, 491.

94. M. Tāgh. a. vi. 0014 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of square *dbu-can* script).

❤ || Ñen kar.gyi.sde Ldog.ge.Lha.skyes |

"Ñen-kar regiment *Ldog-ge* Lha-skyes."

Ld(Rt)og-ge is a surname, recurring elsewhere.

95. M. Tāgh. c. iv. 0029 (wood, c. 12·5 × 2 cm., slightly broken away at bottom; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

❤ || Ñen kar gi sde.Dbaḥ.Kha.myi |

"Ñen-kar regiment Dbaḥ Kha-myi."

On Dbaḥ, a clan name, see *supra*.

Further mention in M. Tāgh. b. ii. 0044 (quoted *supra*).

Ñi-mo-bag-gi-sde

Mentioned in M. Tāgh. c. iii. 0019 (quoted *supra*).

Nos - dpon - mthon - khyaḥ - kyi - sde ("Direction - commander Watch-tower regiment").

M.I., xiv. 0012 (quoted *supra*, p. 543).

• *Phod-kar-gyi-sde* (Phod-dkar, a Thousand-district of the Pa-tshab, in N.E. Tibet).

Mentioned in M. Tāgh., 0291, and b. i. 0095 (quoted above); also (?) in 0302.

Rgod-ldiṅ-gi-sde (Rgod-ldiṅ district in the Nob region).

Mentioned in M.I., xiv, 41 and 135 (quoted *supra*) and 008.

Rgod-tsan-smad-gi-sde (Lower Rgod-tsan district in the Nob region).

Mentioned in M.I., xiv, 006, 39, 41; xxvii, 9; lviii, 004 (quoted *supra*).

Rgod-tsan-stod-kyi-sde (Upper Rgod-tsan district in the Nob region).

Mentioned in M.I., iv, 85; xiv, 108*l*; xliv, 7 (quoted *supra*).

Rlun-gi-sde

Mentioned in M. Tāgh. c. iv, 0035.

Rtsal-mo-pag-gi-sde

96. M. Tāgh. c. i, 0013 (wood, c. 10·5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.: ll. 1 *recto* + 1 (a different hand) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] ༄ | Rtshal.mo.pag.gi.sde | sñaḥ.śur.Stag.la.re

[B] Pyi.rtse |

"Rtsal-mo-pag regiment: *sña-śur* Stag-la-re. Pyi-rtse (*a place-name*)."

On *sñaḥ-śur* see *supra*, p. 389.

Another mention in M. Tāgh. b. i, 0095 (quoted *supra*, *Rtsal*°).

Rtse-thon-gyi-sde (Rtse-thon, in the Nob region).

97. M.I., xvi, 22 (paper, fol. No. 57 in vol., c. 26 × 4 cm., discoloured and irregularly torn away all round; ll. 4 (and some vowel signs of another) *recto* + 3 (and some lower parts of a preceding one) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, in part faint.

Rtse.ḥthon.gyi.sde.Tor.ḥgu.Man.skyes.la

"To Tor-ḥgu Man-skyes, of the Rtse-ḥthon regiment."

Tor-ḥgu is probably a surname.

Further mention in M.I., xv, 0012 (quoted 1928, p. 589).

Śan-sde (named, perhaps, after the Lop-nor kingdom of Śans or Mo-Śans or the Tibetan Śans Thousand-district).

98. M. Tāgh., i, 0025 (wood, c. 12 × 2 cm. complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

༄ | Śaṅ.sde.Dbaḥ.Myes.tshab |

"Śaṅ regiment: the Dbaḥ Myes-tshab."

Further mention in M. Tāgh. a. i, 0031, and c. ii, 0046 (quoted *supra*) and in c. i, 005; c. iii, 0044).

Skyi-stod-kyi-sde (possibly = Skyid-stod, a Thousand-district in Tibet; but *see* 1927, p. 816).

99. M. Tāgh. c. iv, 0027 (wood, c. 11 × 1·5–2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

༄ : | . Sky[i].stod.gyi.sde.kho.ṅan.Chas.zigs [1]

"Upper Skyi regiment: *kho-ṅan* Chas-zigs."

On *kho-ṅan see supra*. p. 389.

Further mention in M. Tāgh. a. ii, 0078 (quoted *supra*).

Ste-ḥjam-sde (Ste-ḥjam, a Thousand-district in E. Tibet).

100. M Tāgh. a. iii, 0026 (wood, c. 12 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of square *dbu-can* script).

[1] ༄ : | Ste.ḥjom.[sde ?].gśen.Phan.legs.gyi

[2] slag.pá.thum.po.bźag |

"Ste-ḥjom regiment: thick (*ḥthug-po*, or packed, *thum*) fur-coat of *gśen* Phan-legs delivered."

On *gśen see* pp. 389–90; on *bźag*, pp. 393, 559.

Spyin-rtsan-gi-sde

101. M. Tāgh. c. ii, 0016 (wood, c. 11–11·5 × 1·5–2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

༄ ; Spyi[ṅ ?] rtsaṅ.gi.sde. | se.[G]u.btsan.bā

"Spyin-rtsan regiment: *se* Gu-btsan-ba (*or* se-gu Btsan-ba ?)."

On *se see supra*, p. 389

Tshaṅ-mi sde (Perhaps Rtsan-mi, i.e. Chitrāl).

Mentioned in M. Tāgh.. 0513 (quoted *supra*, 1930, p. 58).

Yan-rtsan-gi-sde

102. M. Tāgh. c. iv, 002 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ༄ |¦ Yan.rtsaṅ.gi.sde · gu.rib.Nags.rye.sgor |

[1] *s* below line.

[2] had.ba.ši.pa |

"Yan-rtsan regiment: in the house of *gu-rib* (slave ?) Nags-rye . . ."

103. M. Tāgh., 0262 (wood, c. 14 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 (in a different hand and for the most part erased) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ༄ | : | Yan.rtsan.gi | ḥjor.Myes.slebs |

[A 2] sde

[B 1] ༄ | : | Yan.[rtsa]n.gi.sde.-e...n.mchi..

[B 2] nan.rje.po [1] m[ch]id.gso(*l*)

"Yan-rtsan regiment: *ḥjor* Myes-slebs. Yan-rtsan regiment: letter petition of . . . [to the] Home Minister."

Ḥjor is probably a title: see p. 389.

Further mention in M. Tāgh., 0050, a. iv, 00121; b. i, 0095 (quoted *supra*); and a. iii, 0021.

Yar-skyan-gi-sde ("Yarkand regiment").

104. M. Tāgh., 0544 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

༄ || Yar.skyan.gi.sde. | Pu.bag.yul.mthon. |

"Yar-skyan regiment: Pu-bag, local surveyor."

On *Pu-bag* see *supra*, p. 556. *Yul-mthon* is perhaps used as a surname, here and 1928, p. 585.

105. M. Tāgh., 0280 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., somewhat broken away at top l.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

༄ | . | Yar.skyan.gi.sde.spun.drug.Legs.

"Yan-skyan regiment: six brothers Legs."

(So correct *Innermost Asia*, p. 1085).

* *Yel-rab-kyi-sde* (Yel-rab, a Thousand-district in N.E. Tibet).

106. M. Tāgh., 1616 (wood, c. 13 × 1·5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of squarish *dbu-can* script).

༄ | : | Ye[l].rab.gyi.sde. | Lo.Legs.sron.la (srons ?)

"Yel-rab regiment: (to) Lo Legs-sron[s]."

Further mention in M. Tāgh. c. ii, 0038.

[1] Three syllables apart and in a different hand.

* *Zom-sde* (High Zom, a Thousand-district in N.E. Tibet).

107. M.I., xiv, 0061 (wood, c. 7·5 × 2 cm., broken away at r. and at top; remains of hole for string at r.; traces of l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script.)

[◉ || Zom.sde.bl· n | ?]

"Zom regiment . . ."

Note that Zom seems to be different from the *Ḥdzom* of the Nob region: see *Ḥdzom-smad(stod)-kyi-sde* (*supra*).

. . . *daṅ-phyin-poḥi-sde*

Mentioned in M. Tāgh. a. ii, 0097.

. . . *mkhar-gyi-sde* (= *Maṅ-khar-gyi-sde* ?)

Mentioned in M. Tāgh., 0289.

272

The Origin of Banking in Mediaeval Islam:
A contribution to the economic history of the Jews of Baghdad in the tenth century

By WALTER FISCHEL

(Concluded from p. 352.)

V. The Activities of the Court Bankers

If we describe as bankers persons whose profession it is to administer, procure, and supply money,[1] then we are indeed entitled to count Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram as bankers in a quite modern sense, and in view of their almost exclusive dealings with the Court and its officials, as Court Bankers in fact as well as in name.[2]

Their professional activities, to which we now turn, may be summed up under the following main categories:—

A. *Financial Transactions.*
   (a) Administration of Funds.
   (b) Remittance of Funds.
   (c) Supplying of Funds.

B. *Mercantile Transactions.*

A.

(a) *Administration of Funds.*—The Arab sources of the tenth century reveal a prodigious desire to accumulate money, a mad rush to get rich.[3] The appetite for money was only equalled by the fear of its loss.

[1] Max Weber, *Grundriss der Sozialökonomik II. Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, Tübingen, 1922, pp. 92–3; cf. also the same author's valuable *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 1923, pp. 223–238.

[2] *Wuz.*, 158–9, جهابذة الحضرة.

[3] The words of a high official are a typical expression of this: "Already when I was a little boy I used to hoard all the money I received at a greengrocer's" (*Tan.*, ii).

This phenomenon will be discussed fully in another connection. Here it may suffice to state that officials and merchants, who were the mainstays of this money economy,[1] were afraid of the interference of the State, which was able to gain possession of private property easily by the then so universal method of confiscation.[2]

This feeling of fear and uncertainty caused people to look for the safest place in which to keep their money. To this end the oddest ways and methods were invented. Gold and silver were hidden under the soil,[3] in wells,[4] in cisterns,[5] in barns,[6] among clothes, etc. Money was even invested in jewellery and trinkets, as well as other articles of luxury,[7] only in order to prevent the State from snatching away one's not always honestly gained lucre.[8] Real estate owners could

[1] *Vide* the sociologically instructive passage in *Tan.*, i, p. 243. Mez, l.c., p. 442, says rightly: "Im 9/10 Jahrhundert ist der reiche Kaufmann geradezu der Träger der jetzt materiell anspruchsvoll gewordenen mohammedanischen Kultur."

[2] As to the meaning of this word and the evolution of its signification, *vide* Cl. Huart, *ZDMG.*, vol. lxiii (1909), pp. 856–7, and A. Fischer, *ZDMG.*, vol. lxiv (1910), pp. 481–4. I deal at length with the institution of a *dīwān al musādara* in my *Beiträge*.

[3] *Misk.*, 416; *Misk.*, ii, 11-12, 74, 187. After the death of the Emir Abū'l Husain Bachkam a list was made of all the places where his money was hidden.

[4] *Tan.*, ii, 210, tells us that more than 80,000 dīnārs were taken out of a well belonging to a merchant (رجل تاجر). Even the privy was used as a hiding-place for money, *vide* the detailed and amusing story in *Tan.*, i, 15-18. Other evidence in *Misk.*, 102, where the Vizier himself is said to have hidden in cesspools no less than half a million dīnārs. *Vide* also *Tan.*, i, 272.

[5] Ibn Sa'id, ed. Tallquist, pp. 39-40.

[6] *Misk.*, 230; this method is still in use in Algeria. Cf. on this A. Ruehl, *Vom Wirtschaftsgeist im Orient*, Leipzig, 1925, p. 42.

[7] Tanūkhī, *Faraj ba'd ash Shidda*, i, 113; ii, 17. Cf. C. H. Becker, *Ägypten im Mittelalter*, *Islamstudien*, Leipzig, 1924, i, p. 183: "Ausserdem war eine grosse Garderobe eine nicht zu verachtende Geldanlage in einer Zeit, der noch die Thesaurierung der Wertobjekte für sicherer galt als das Arbeitenlassen des Kapitals."

[8] Naturally, immense fortunes simply disappeared because after their owners' death nobody knew where their treasures were hidden; and on the other hand, great treasures were often discovered by mere chance. *Vide Misk.*, 290.

protect themselves against the danger of loss by constituting their landed property a Waqf,[1] whereby they at least could enjoy the revenue derived therefrom without fear. But what could be done with money hoards ? [2]

In addition to hiding their money in the ground and elsewhere, people began to deposit it with prominent persons,[3] merchants,[4] and above all with professional money-dealers or bankers. This way was chiefly used by the high officials themselves and the Viziers of the Caliphs. The bankers and money-changers, whose profession it was to engage in money transactions, were for that very reason considered to be the proper, safe, and reliable people to entrust with one's fortune.[5]

So the habit was adopted by every Vizier of the age of al-Muqtadir to have his own money-keeper, his own particular banker.[6] Naturally, care was taken not to have such deposits entered in books.[7] Thus b. al-Furāt is said to have deposited huge sums with merchants [8] and clerks, without letting it be known.[9] Another official, for reasons of security, deposited

[1] For the Waqf as a measure against confiscation *vide* von Kremer, *Einnahmebudget*, p. 16 ; Becker, *Beiträge*, p. 266 ff., and *Islamstudien*, Leipzig, 1924, i, p. 62 ; also W. Bjoerkman, " Kapitalentstehung und Anlage im Islam, Berlin," *MSOS.*, ii, 1930, pp. 80–98.

[2] When the chamberlain Naṣr heard that he was to be arrested, he first of all hastened to deposit his money with others (*Misk.*, 117).

[3] *Vide Misk.*, 102, 68 ; *Irshād*, i, 70 ; v, 350. *Ecl.*, iii, 262.

[4] *Misk.*, 44 ; *Wuz.*, 74.

[5] That they were by no means absolutely safe is evident from *Misk.*, 257. Barīdī, the governor of Ahwāz, had the bankers' houses looted (دور الصيارف) and took all the money that was found there, the bankers' own as well as that of their clients. As to مضارِبة cf. the lexica. Cf. also the story in Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, Cairo, 1308, i, 208.

[6] The banker of Ibn al-Furāt was Aaron b. Amram, as well as Joseph b. Phineas. Ibrāhim is said to have been the banker of Ḥāmid b. 'Abbās (*Misk.*, 95 ; *Wuz.*, 62, 12 ; *Wuz.*, 225). 'Ali b. 'Isa also had his own ناقد named b. Abi 'Isa (*Wuz.*, 291_4 and 224). A جهبذ *of* the Vizier al-Khaṣībī is also mentioned in *Misk.*, 155.

[7] *Vide*, for instance, *Wuz.*, 33, also *Wuz.*, 79–80, and *Tan.*, ii, 83–5.

[8] These " merchants " mean the two Jewish court bankers, v.i., the section " Mercantile Transactions ", p. 583.

[9] *Misk.*, 44.

a sum of 10,000 dīnārs at a banker's without having it entered either on the debit or on the credit page of his books.[1] The important revenue-farmer and later Vizier Ḥāmid b. 'Abbās deposited with the banker Ibrāhīm b. Yuḥanna a sum of 100,000 gold dīnārs.[2] In the year 927, 10,000 dīnārs belonging to the Vizier al-Khasībī were found partly in strong boxes, partly in the custody of his *jahbadh*.[3]

It is only natural that our two Jewish bankers should also be charged with such deposits. As court bankers they must have been considered particularly reliable and safe. Their clients[4] were mostly Viziers, and particularly the Vizier b. al-Furāt, of whose deposits with the Jewish banking firm we hear many other interesting things.

Thus b. al-Furāt, after his fall as Vizier, was finally forced to confess that he had deposited a sum of 160,000 dīnārs (consisting of *māl al-muṣādara*) with Aaron b. Amram and his son.[5] The Caliph al-Muqtadir summoned these two bankers, who confirmed the existence of this deposit and, at the Caliph's order conveyed the money to his privy purse.[6]

We hear of other deposits of Ibn al-Furāt with the Jewish bankers (الجهبذين اليهوديين) which he had to confess in the course of the inquiry that was instituted against him. The Jews were obliged to convey the money to the public exchequer.[7]

Closely connected with their function of administering funds was the employment of this Jewish banking house as an address for certain illegal monies destined for the account of b. al-Furāt. Here, too, b. al-Furāt was the first to have

[1] *Tan.*, i, 103–4.

[2] *Misk.*, 95; *Wuz.*, 226.

[3] *Misk.*, 138. Here both methods of treasuring money had been used.

[4] From other money transactions it is clear that their clients were always courtiers, Viziers, high officials, etc.

[5] *Misk.*, 128. This is the only place that mentions Aaron b. Amram together with his son (v.s., p. 350, n. 1).

[6] *Wuz.*, 124. A parallel version in *Misk.*, 128, shows only slight variations.

[7] *'Arīb*, 74, 13 ff.

funds (so-called "bribery money")[1] remitted directly to Aaron b. Amram,[2] who credited them to the former's account. The Vizier, of course, avoided creating any evidence of the existence of such an account in the form of book-keeping entries.[3]

We also learn from *Wuz.*, 78–80, and *Tan.*, ii, 82–84,[4] that this greedy Vizier had yet another money transaction with the Jewish bankers Aaron b. Amram and Joseph b. Phineas, which even led to a sort of legal inquiry against them. Here we are told in a very detailed manner how the Vizier increased his wealth by transmitting confiscated funds (*māl al-muṣādara*) not to the Caliph's privy purse or to the public exchequer[5] as he should have done, but to his own secret account which he had opened with the Jewish banking firm. We owe to this passage not only further information on the bankers' function of administering funds,[6] but also rather an interesting insight into the way in which the *jahbadh* used to keep his accounts,

[1] Cf. H. F. Amedroz, "Abbasid Administration in its Decay," *JRAS.*, 1913, pp. 834–5. *Māl almarāfiq* was legitimate according to the financial morality of the time.

[2] *Wuz.*, 334.

[3] In view of the fact that the Hebrew characters were employed in the bulk of Jewish-Arabic writings of the Middle Ages, including Gaonic literature, it might not be out of place to consider whether the account-books of these court bankers were kept in the Hebrew or in the Arabic script. Jewish court bankers of mediaeval Europe, we are told, kept their books not only in the Hebrew script but sometimes in the Hebrew language, and then had them translated into Latin (cf. M. Hoffmann, *Der Geldhandel der deutschen Juden*, p. 117). There is an instance on record even from the sphere of modern Islam. Between the years 1825–7 Jews were engaged as bankers of the Pasha at Damascus. They had a monopoly of all government banking business. Upon their dismissal as the result of intrigues their successors were unable to carry on the Pasha's business because their books had been kept in the Hebrew script. *Vide Revue de l'Académie Arabe à Damas*, 1922, p. 600 ff., and my monograph based thereon, which will appear shortly.

[4] The differences between the two versions of the text need not be taken into consideration here, as they do not affect the substance.

[5] See on these two institutions my *Beiträge zur Geschichte der islamischen Finanzverwaltung.*

[6] This passage, too, gives us an idea of the very considerable sums that passed through their hands.

and how these accounts were controlled by the Government.[1] For these bankers had to furnish a detailed report and a statement of all the funds that had been entrusted to them in connection with the inquiry carried out against the Vizier b. al-Furāt.[2]

(*b*) *Remittance of Funds.*—Our bankers not only took charge of deposits and administered funds, but also transmitted money. We must remember that in these times the endorsement of bills was already coming into use. In the tenth century it was customary to pay debts not in cash only, but to settle them by means of letters of credit. For such letters of credit or cheques the expression *suftaja* (سفتجة) was used.[3] The purpose of this *suftaja* was to convey money from place to place without incurring the risk of transport.[4] It was thus a means of avoiding payments in coin to distant places. By means of such a *suftaja*, whose very essence is transaction at a distance,[5] the tradesman was able to carry

[1] Apparently the control of the books of the *jahbadh* by the government implies the official character of this office.

[2] The text uses the expression ختمات for these reports. We find the same expression in connection with the activities of a *jahbadh* in *Misk.*, 155, 158, 164 6. It shows that these *khatamāt* were kept in the Vizier's Dīwān. What is meant by ختمات is explained by the *Kitāb Mafātiḥ al-'Ulūm*, ed. Vloten, p. 54. *Vide* also *Tan.*, i, 42, 109, 176. The *jahbadh* had to write detailed receipts for all money matters (روز).

[3] Wahrmund, *Handwörterbuch*, s.v., renders the expression with "Kreditbrief". Belot, *Vocab.*, with "lettre de change"; Amedroz (*Gloss.*, p. 62) with "bill of exchange". The economic and legal nature of the *suftaja* is the object of detailed explanations by the Arab lexicographers. *Vide* *Lisān al 'Arab*, iii, 123; *Tāj al 'Arūs*, ii, p. 59; *al-Qāmūs*, i, 299; *Muḥīṭ al Muḥīṭ*, i, p. 962; Sprenger, *Dictionary of Technical Terms*, i, 636–7.

[4] For the whole question see R. Grasshoff, *Die suftağa und ḥawāla der Araber*, Göttingen, 1899, pp. 1 36. The language of to-day uses *ḥawāla*, not *suftaja*. In modern Arab commercial parlance the old Arab terms have been replaced by European loanwords, such as *bulisa*, *kambiala*, *jird*, *bolisatā*, etc.

[5] According to L. Goldschmidt, *Universalgeschichte des Handelsrechts*, Stuttgart, 1891, pp. 403–4, the essence of a bill transaction is the real or ideal movement of sums of money. According to the conception of mediaeval law a difference of place between remitter and remittee is indispensable to a bill of charge.

larger amounts with him or to convey them without incurring the risk which in the case of cash was considerable in these days.[1] Thus we hear that a man made a long journey with two servants and a guide, while his earthly riches consisted only of *suftajas* for 5,000 dīnārs.[2]

Money presents were brought from the Ahwāz province to the Caliph's mother in the form of a *suftaja* for the amount of 3,000 dīnārs.[3] Even bribes were paid in this way.[4]

The new Arab sources show very clearly a widespread use of that easy and riskless method of payment,[5] which simplified the manifold mercantile relations of the 'Abbāsid empire of those times and was very useful for the rapid and safe settlement of business matters. R. Grasshoff's opinion, "Ganz versagen für die Erforschung der inneren Beschaffenheit des arabischen Handels und damit für die Erkenntnis der Funktionen der suftaǵa die Historiker des Islams," is therefore now out of date.[6]

But the contemporary Jewish sources, too, i.e. the Gaonic Responsa, throw light on the functions and scope of the *suftaja*.[7]

For instance, the money for the Babylonian academies was conveyed from Kairuwān [8] to Sura or Pumbadita by means of such letters of credit, and it can be assumed that other

[1] *Vide Misk.*, 219, where a ship (شذاة, cf. Lane, *Dict.*, s.v.) carrying the revenues of Ahwāz to Baghdad is robbed (year 319/931).

[2] *Tan.*, i, 104, 5.

[3] *Tan.*, i, 105.

[4] *Tan.*, i, 103. Further proofs in our texts: *Tan.*, i, 90, 93; ii, 680, etc.; *Wuz.*, 93 ff.

[5] We learn the same thing from Arab papyrus fragments; cf. H. C. Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhard*, Heidelberg, 1906, i, p. 11.

[6] Ibid., p. 10.

[7] Cf. A. Harkavy, *Tschuboth ha-Geonim: Studien und Mitteilungen*, Berlin, 1887, iv, No. 423 (pp. 216, 316), No. 548 (p. 209), No. 552 (pp. 273–4). All the responsa dealing with *suftaja* are written in Arabic and not in Hebrew. Harkavy renders the word *suftaja* by "Wechselschein" or "Anweisung", p. 316, No. 6.

[8] Cf. now also J. Mann, *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature*, Cincinnati, i, 1931, pp. 143–4.

far-off communities employed the same method.[1] This *suftaja*-system was a source of legal problems for the Jewish authorities, as, for instance, the question whether, according to Talmudic civil law, a legal claim was possible in case such a letter of credit was lost. The Gaon's answer was that the principles of Talmudic civil law did not admit the legality of a claim in case of loss. But as the Beth Din saw that such letters of credit continued to be used, it finally took up such claims in order not to hinder the commercial relations among merchants.[2]

This *suftaja*-system not only furthered private commerce and communication,[3] but also helped to simplify and to rationalize the financial administration of the government. For now these letters of credit also were used as a means of sending the taxes from the provinces of the 'Abbāsid empire to the public exchequer in Baghdad.[4] Our sources tell us that in 916 the public exchequer in Baghdad contained *amwāl safātij* that had come from Fars, Iṣfahān, and the Eastern provinces.[5] 'Ali b. 'Isa, who was then the financial inspector of Egypt and Syria, had 147,000 dīnārs of taxes sent by his chamberlain from Egypt to Baghdad by means of *suftajas*.[6] The revenue farmers of Ahwāz,[5] of Iṣfahān,[5] and Fars also

[1] On *suftajas* from Basra to Baghdad, v. Harkavy, ibid., Nos. 548, 552. On later conditions of trade and cheques in Basra, cf. the evidence of Nāṣir-i Khusrau, ed. Schefer, p. 64. Cf. Mez, ibid., 447 ff.

[2] Harkavy, ibid., No. 423, apud J. Mann in *JQR.*, x, p. 324. For the illegality of the *suftaja* according to Islamic theory, cf. Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch d. islamischen Gesetzes*, 1910, p. 274. It was regarded as a kind of loan, which resulted in an illicit benefit to the parties.

[3] A typical piece of evidence for the flourishing state of commerce and the commonness of *suftajas* is *Ecl.*, iii, pp. 138-9, towards the end of the tenth century. "What a marvellous sight to see a bill of change ([illegible]) on a commercial enterprise drawn in the enemy's country! If this is a source of pride, then the merchants are more powerful than the Viziers in East and West, for the former draw bills on high amounts . . . that are accepted with more readiness than tribute and land-tax."

[4] *Misk.*, 43.

[5] *Misk.*, 187.

[6] *Wuz.*, 296; *Misk.*, 146; v. also *Ibn Sa'id*, ed. Tallquist, p. 32.

made use of this *suftaja*-system and chose this way of sending their money to the public exchequer. It seems that there were special messengers (فيج) whose task it was to carry the letters with the *suftaja* to Baghdād.[1]

In any case, this system of payment seems to have been so common and familiar also in the accounting offices of the treasury department that the author of the work *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm*, in explaining the 'Abbāsid administrative terminology, has nothing to say to the word *suftaja* but معروف "is well known."[2]

These letters of credit, that were sent to the public exchequer from various eastern and western provinces of the 'Abbāsid empire, had of course to be cashed and exchanged. It happened not unfrequently that *suftajas* were left uncashed in the public exchequer or in the Vizier's archives and were simply forgotten because of the responsible official's negligence. The Arab sources mention several cases of such a muddled management of the exchequer.[3]

It nevertheless can be assumed that they were cashed in most cases. Our texts do not tell us very much about the methods of cashing, neither do we learn how the governmental accounting offices dealt with the *suftaja* in their accounts. But it can hardly be doubted that the settlement of *suftaja* business was connected primarily with those officials who were employed as *jahbadh*. This may be inferred from the case of the kindred institution of *ṣakk* (صك).[4]

The bankers were the natural money-changers and agents in such payments, and must have played an important part

[1] *Misk.*, 150.

[2] Ed. v. Vloten, Leyden, 1895, p. 62.

[3] Cf. *Misk.*, 23; 262, 2; 350.

[4] Cf. primarily *Iršād*, 385, 399; also *Wuz.*, 73, 77, 235; *Misk.*, 158, 6; ii, 80 (صك على الجهبذ); b. Hauqal, 42, 70. *Vide* G. Jacob, "Die ältesten Spuren des Wechsels," *MSOS.*, 1925, pp. 280–1; *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm*, pp. 56–7. Cf. Dīwān of Ibn al Mu'tazz (*ZDMG.*, 40, p. 561; vol. xli, p. 250). *Tan.*, i, 109; *Ecl.*, iii, 46 ff., 119.

whenever such letters of credit were exchanged. Among others, our sources mention transactions of that kind by the Jewish bankers.[1] In reading the following lines we get the impression of a quite modern money order :—

"The Vizier b. al-Furāt then opened his ink-pot and wrote an order to his banker (*jahbadh*) Aaron b. Amram, telling him to pay from his account and without any further admonition 2,000 dinārs to Abu'l Hasan 'Ali b. 'Isa, as a subvention towards payment of a fine imposed upon him. Muhassin b. al-Furāt also ordered his banker to pay this 'Ali b. 'Isa 1,000 dinārs[2] from his account that was in Aaron b. Amram's bank."[3]

This money conveyance business, conducted in cash as well as by means of *suftajas*, must also have been a source of income to the bankers, and it may be supposed that they got a certain commission for cashing *suftaja* as we know them to have got one for cashing *sakk*.[4] The relationship between our court bankers and the *suftaja* system can also be inferred from the fact that the Vizier deposited unpaid *suftajas* with the Jewish bankers Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram as security for a considerable loan that the Vizier wanted to obtain from them. But this leads us already to another, to the most important of their business activities.

(*c*) *Supplying of Funds.* As the money needs of the Caliph and the State became more and more considerable, the rapid supply of funds, especially for military purposes, became urgently necessary.

[1] *Misk.*, 112.

[2] In a parallel version in *Wuz.*, 306-307, which is characterized by a divergent terminology, the expression اخذ الدواة فوقع الى is nevertheless the same as in *Misk.*, 112, and seems to have been a fixed administrative phrase; we have it also in *Tan.*, i, 43.

[3] The newly appointed Vizier thus helps the fallen Vizier to bear his fine, which is rather a strange practice. It was probably the result of the Vizier's realization that the same fate might very soon be his own. Cf. C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, i, p. 205.

[4] The usual rate seems to have been one dirham per dinār.

These extraordinary money needs gave birth to various methods of money supply. The method of revenue farming, of indirect levying of taxes was already employed as an excellent way of overcoming financial difficulties. The revenue farmer had to pay the Caliph a certain fixed lump sum, and he moreover undertook to pay the State partly in advance, thus enabling it to obtain cash quickly. But other ways were also used against financial crises. New departments and offices were created, the administration was divided and subdivided into numberless offices and functions, not from administrative, but from purely financial motives, i.e. in order to increase the revenue of the State by selling such posts. The selling of offices to the highest bidder was a frequent occurrence, as was also the sale of crown lands and the arbitrary confiscation of private fortunes. The Caliph's privy purse was squeezed to the last farthing, so that it could no longer be considered as a reserve fund against emergencies. The Viziers, the responsible chancellors of the empire's exchequer, could hardly find any way out; for even the systematic economies of 'Ali b. 'Isa, which reduced salaries, pensions, and other expenses, were not able to balance the budget.

It probably was in this situation that the idea arose of calling in the aid of the Jewish bankers in consolidating the finances of the State. We are entitled to infer from the picture the sources present of Aaron b. Amram and Joseph b. Phineas, that their importance for the financial economy of al-Muqtadir's empire lay in their capacity as privileged money-suppliers and money-lenders. This was really the centre of gravity of their business activity, far surpassing in significance all the other financial activities discussed above.

We are able to reconstruct their functions as money suppliers in many of their details, with the help of our Arab sources.

We know of three instances of credits being extended to the State by these financiers.

(1) In *Wuz.*, 178 $_{12-20}$, we hear that the Vizier b. al-Furāt,

during his first vizierate,[1] called the Jewish banker (*al-jahbadh al-yahūdī*) Joseph b. Phineas,[2] who is designated as جهبذ الاهواز, and asked him for an advance of money in order to cover expenditure on the officials of Ahwāz for two months (*māl shahrayn*). It was indicated that as official tax-collector of the province of Ahwāz he had sufficient guarantees in the form of later taxes.[3] But Joseph b. Phineas was not so readily induced to grant the loan. Nevertheless, as the report continues, b. al-Furāt did not stop arguing with him until he finally assented and granted on the self-same day a loan for a month. Of course, b. al-Furāt without delay ordered his servant to fetch the amount from Joseph b. Phineas.

(2) The Vizier 'Alī b. 'Īsā, too, was obliged to ask the Jewish bankers for a loan in order to consolidate the public budget. He addressed them as follows[4]:—

"Do you want to avoid my inflicting penalties on you[5] that may affect you and your heirs (عليكما وعلى ورثتكما) for ever?[6] I shall only refrain from it in consideration of a matter that will cause you no damage whatever. At the beginning of each month I need an amount of 30,000 dīnārs, which must be paid within the first six days to the infantry troops.[7] However,

[1] Probably about the year 311.

[2] The text reads يوسف بن فنحاس.

[3] Only Joseph b. Phineas is mentioned here as جهبذ الاهواز. Cf., however, *Wuz.*, 81, 4, and *Tan.*, ii, where both Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram are referred to as connected with جهبذة الاهواز.

[4] This and the following passage exist in two versions, but they do not show any important changes (*Wuz.*, 80[11]–81[1], *Tan.*, ii, 84[10]–85[3]).

[5] The Vizier merely used this threat in order to force the Jewish bankers to comply his aim. For that they were not culpable is evident from the whole course of events (which cannot be reviewed here owing to considerations of space), v.s., p 373.

[6] The expression "you and your heirs" permits of inferences being drawn as to the organization of the banking firm (v.s., p. 350).

[7] Loans were usually occasioned by urgent expenditure for military purposes. That it was just military expenditure that rendered a loan necessary is not accidental. The need of capital for army purposes weighed

I am usually not in possession of such a sum, neither on the first nor on the second day of the month. I want you, therefore, to advance on the first of each month a loan of 150,000 dirhams, an amount that you, as you know, will get back in the course of the month from the Ahwāz revenue. For the administration of the Ahwāz revenue belongs to you (جهبذة الاهواز لكما), and these moneys (from Ahwāz) are a permanent advance of money to you, to which I am going to add (as security) the amount of 20,000 dīnārs that are payable every month by Ḥāmid b. 'Abbās.[1] This will be the compensation for the first instalment [and I shall be relieved of a heavy burden]."[2]

The two bankers, so we hear, made at first difficulties and intended to refuse,[3] but the Vizier did not stop urging them until they gave their consent.

(3) In his request to this banking firm to give him a loan, the Vizier 'Ali b. 'Isa could offer the future revenue from the province of Ahwāz and other sources of income as securities and guarantees. But we also hear about another application for a loan by this Vizier—probably during his first vizierate, in the year 913—to the same banking firm, in which a fiscal method appears that had probably not been used by anyone before in the course of 'Abbāsid financial policy.

"When the Vizier 'Ali b. 'Isa had to make payments for which he had no funds, he would take from the merchants [4]

most heavily on the budget. So that it was just in the financing of the army that the credit system developed entirely new methods. The influence of the troops, mostly Turkish mercenaries, on the administration as a whole kept steadily increasing.

[1] Here the *muṣādara* of this dismissed Vizier is referred to. Cf. on him, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v.

[2] The words in brackets are only to be found in at-Tanūkhī.

[3] The difficulties at first made by the two bankers here, too, show that they did not have at that time much faith in the solvency of the State. The refusal of merchants or bankers to give money to the State often led, however, to deeds of violence. Cf. for a later instance, *Ecl.*, iii, p. 282.

[4] *Vide* above, p. 348, on the name of "merchants" by which the two Jewish bankers were designated.

(*at-tujjār*) a loan (السلف) of 10,000 dinārs, the security for which consisted of letters of credit (*suftaja*) which had come in from the provinces, but were not yet due, and by giving interest at the rate of 1½ silver dānaqs on the dīnār, which made the amount of 2,500 dirhams a month. This arrangement was made with Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram and their successors (ومن قام مقامهما)[1] for the period of sixteen years [and after their death]."[2]

In this agreement we have no less than the taking of a well-covered long-term loan by the government from the Jewish bankers, that was carried out with all the elements of an almost modern banking technique, and this—more than a full millennium ago! Without going into details about this document, attention must be called to some particulars that are of importance for the history of finance generally, not only for that of the 'Abbāsid state, namely :—

(*a*) The negotiation of a state loan as such.[3]

(*b*) The payment of interest.[4]

[1] Note this expression and the already mentioned "heirs".

[2] *Wuz.*, 81, 8 13, *Tan.*, ii, 85, 4 ff. Cf. v. Kremer, *Einnahmebudget*, p. 14.

[3] The method of avoiding a financial crisis by taking up a loan seems to have become usual only at this period. A history of government loans in 'Abbāsid times, which ought to be written, would comprise all the methods of getting money (على سبيل القرض, cf. *Misk.*, 164, 213, 220; *Ecl.*, iii, 159, 259 ff.). This method was also employed later on in the reign of the Caliph ar-Rāḍi by the Vizier b. Muqla (on this Vizier, v. the study of A. H. Harley in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London, 1923–5, iii, p. 213 ff.), who obtained a loan (قرض) from the merchants, but was not able to pay it back, so that he had to give them bills on certain revenues and sell them crown lands (*Misk.*, 320, cf. *Misk.*, 299). This is the origin of Islamic feudalism, as will be shown in detail later on. For loans in Egypt of that period, cf. C. H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Aegyptens unter dem Islam*, Strassburg, 1903, pp. 38 9, 56. *Mez*, ibid., 123, 450.

[4] 'Alī b. 'Īsā was probably the first to obtain a loan by paying interest. Cf. v. Kremer, *Einnahmebudget*, pp. 7, 24, 63. The usual interest rate was a dirham for each dīnār, at which rate Abū Bekr b. Qarāba granted a loan to the Vizier (*Misk.*, 213, 220). According to *Tan.*, i, 204, a money-changer (صيرفي) charges a commission rate of 1 dirham per dīnār. In our

(c) The pledging of uncashed letters of credit as security.

(d) The state's entering into an agreement with a Jewish banking house.

B. *Mercantile Transactions*

In reviewing the financial transactions of these court bankers generally, as our sources represent them, it must occur to one to ask: How were they enabled to meet the very considerable money requirements of the State? For even if we admit that the guarantees and securities they received, as, for instance, the revenues of Ahwāz, were cashed in due course, we still must wonder whence they derived such immense money reserves of liquid cash. What, then, were the sources of their wealth?

Their various kinds of business, such as administration, remittance, and supplying of funds, must certainly be considered as a more or less important source of profit.[1] We may suppose that, first and foremost, the amounts deposited with them by court officials and Viziers (as we have seen, they were no small sums)[2] were not only hoarded, i.e. kept in the strict sense of the word. In all probability they were made productive, i.e. utilized as "capital" that "worked" for them.[3]

We must, however, take another source of their money into consideration, namely, the trade in goods carried on by

case the rate of interest is nearly 30 per cent. About the relation between dirham and dīnār, cf. K. W. Hofmeyer, "Beiträge zur arabischen Papyrusforschung," *Islam*, iv, 1913, p. 100 ff.; further instances in the books of the Arab geographers; cf. also *Misk.*, 398, 3; 417, 5.

[1] It is likewise a matter of controversy whence the Jewish capitalists of mediaeval Europe derived their fortunes. Cf. for the various theories on this, accumulated ground-rent, the profit on landed property or commercial undertakings—the work of M. Hoffmann, *Der Geldhandel der deutschen Juden*, Leipzig, 1910. and W. Sombart, *Die Juden und d. Wirtschaftsleben*, Leipzig, 1911.

[2] The sums of deposits only given by the Vizier b. al-Furāt amounted to millions of dīnārs. Cf. *Tan.*, ii, 82–4; *Wuz.*, 79–80, etc.

[3] Thus, at a time when the unproductive treasuring of precious metals was widespread, certain circles were already using money not only as a means of storing wealth.

these "bankers". It must be remembered here that Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram are also expressly called "merchants" (*at-tujjār*).[1] Our sources often use the expression when they mean our *jahābidhat*. It can hardly be supposed that the authors, high administrative officials, whose profession developed the ability to distinguish sharply between departments, denominations, and titles, should simply have used the expression "*at-tujjār*" instead of *jahābidhat* for no reason. It is improbable that this is merely a case of terminological looseness; on the contrary, we are bound to infer from this difference of expression that these Jews actually dealt in merchandise as well, although it is only their financial dealings that the Arab sources show us, in all their variety and many-sidedness. However, our assumption of their having engaged in mercantile transactions is not based on terminological evidence alone, but is also justified by historical reflection. Business in money and business in goods were always closely connected, all through the Middle Ages.[2] According to W. Sombart,[3] money-lending

[1] *Wuz.*, 81, 8 ff.; *Tan.*, ii, 85, 5 ff. In the work of Miskawaih the name of Joseph b. Phineas does not appear at all. *Misk.* also avoids the expression *al jahābidhān al yahūdiyyūn* in contrast to *Wuz.*, *Tan.*, and *'Arib*. He refers to the two bankers with the more general denomination *at-tujjār*. There is no doubt, for instance, that with this word *Misk.*, 44, 60, and other passages can only mean our two bankers. This is clearly proved by a parallel version in *'Arib*, 74, where the same fact is related with the identical details, except that جهبذ is used instead of تاجر. We have, therefore, reason for regarding the words عند تاجرين التجار in *Misk.*, 44 (the Vizier b. al-Furāt had deposited considerable sums there), as well as the words in *Misk.*, 129, as referring to the Jewish banking firm with which the Vizier, as we saw above, used to deposit large amounts of money.

[2] In the Middle Ages, financial affairs were conducted by *merchants*. The founder of the Rothschild banking firm, too, was at first a wholesale trader. Cf. R. Ehrenberg, *Das Zeitalter der Fugger*, i, Jena, 1922. J. Kulischer, *Warenhändler und Geldausleiher im Mittelalter*, p. 254, says: "Warenhandel und Geldhandel der verschiedensten Art, insbesondere das verzinsliche Darlehensgeschäft, sind im Mittelalter aufs engste miteinander verbunden. Der Kaufmann, der mit Waren handelt, ist zu gleicher Zeit auch Geldhändler, insbesondere Geldausleiher und umgekehrt."

[3] *Vide Der Bourgeois*, p. 436; ibid., *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben*, p. 222. Note Sombart's saying: "Aus der Geldleihe ist der Kapitalismus geboren."

is only an evolution of trade, and the economic history of the Middle Ages furnishes many instances of the fact that finance originates in commerce. The latter created the capital for money dealings of larger scope. This process was also deeply rooted in the economic structure of the epoch in which these Court-Jews lived and worked. They probably began as merchants in the proper sense of the word, who prospered and finally turned to money affairs on a large scale. Their firm, probably at first a trading house, thus developed into a banking firm, and their purely financial undertakings gradually pushed all other commercial activities into the background.[1]

VI. The Sources of their Financial Capacity

But that these Jewish bankers, in their function of money suppliers, were not only dependent on their own capital, on the amounts deposited with them, and on the profits derived from their mercantile activities, can be seen from an Arab historical source that has only recently been made accessible to us, containing perhaps the most enlightening information on these persons and the secret of their position. In at-Tanūkhi's *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara* (second volume), edited by Margoliouth [2]—and only there—we read in connection with the loan agreement made with 'Ali b. 'Isa (cf. p. 580) the following statement about these bankers:—

"For they were never dismissed until their death; and they were appointed in the days of 'Ubaidallāh b. Yaḥyā al-Khāqānī.[3] The Sultan did not want to dismiss them, in order to uphold the dignity (جاه) [4] of the office of *jahbadh*

[1] Their trade probably comprised the same articles of Oriental commerce as are mentioned in the report on the "Radanites". *Vide* J. Mann, *JQR.*, x, p. 330; A. Mez, s.v. Handel.

[2] Published in *Revue de l'Académie Arabe à Damas*, 1930.

[3] *Vide* my proposed emendation of this statement, p. 351.

[4] This Persian word is very much used in 'Abbāsid terminology; cf. *Tan.*, i, 25, 2; 26, 12, etc.

in the eyes of the merchants (التجار), so that the merchants might be ready to lend their money through the *jahbadh* if necessary. Were a *jahbadh* to be dismissed and another appointed in his place, with whom the merchants had not yet had any dealings, the business of the Caliph would come to a standstill."[1]

That it was possible to speak about the Jewish court bankers in such a way is itself sufficient to show how much they were honoured and trusted by the Caliph, and what is more important still, how indispensable they seem to have been to the Court. The part they played must really have been a very considerable one, for though the Caliph in the twenty-five years of his reign changed his Vizier no less than fifteen times, though during that period the whole administrative apparatus was subject to constant changes and the general situation was less stable than it had ever been, he did not want to dismiss them and kept them in office for life.[2]

But we owe to this passage more than this evidence alone. We could hardly have hoped for a more enlightening answer as to the *sources of their financial capacity*, their activity as creditors, and the nature of their banking business generally. For we see now that they could rely for their money-supplying on sources of capital perhaps no less important than their own fortune or the deposits they administered: the credit and confidence of other rich merchants of their time. The secret of their privileged position at Court is to be

[1] While all the passages from *Tan*[illegible] containing evidence about the Jewish bankers are also to be found in a parallel version, this particular statement is only to be found here.

[2] *Wuz.*, 224–7, furnishes a detailed list containing the names of all the high officials and personalities who were condemned to pay a fine (*musādara*), including names of Viziers, governors, Dīwān heads, revenue farmers, etc. It is significant that Joseph b. Phinras and Aaron b. Amram are not mentioned, though the black list contains several persons that bore the title of *jahbadh*. This, too, can be used as an argument in favour of their privileged position at Court.

explained by their—and apparently only their—ability, by virtue of their office, their reputation, the esteem and trust they commanded, as well as their manifold connections with commercial circles—to secure from the merchants the sums of liquid money necessary for meeting the needs of the State and the Court.

What concrete details may we assume about these "merchants", the *jahābidhat's* connection with whom the Government valued so highly? The commercial activities of that time were not limited to any particular section of the population, so that, *a priori*, non-Jews are by no means excluded. Everybody was caught by the tidal wave of commercial prosperity with its chances of gain. Christians as well as Jews were bankers (جهبذ), money-changers (صيرفي), and merchants (تاجر), and so were, especially as regards the two last-mentioned classes, Mohammedans.[1]

Nevertheless it is probably primarily co-religionists of Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram that are meant. This view is favoured not least by the reference in our passage to the feelings of solidarity and personal confidence by which those "merchants" are connected with the two court bankers. It was just for this psychologically important reason that the Caliph never dismissed them. For only by keeping them in office, as the text informs us, could he "uphold the dignity of their office" in the merchants' eyes and get money through them.

The factor of solidarity, which economic historians have long ago recognized as a characteristic feature of Jewish participation in economic life,[2] was here, too, a factor of

[1] Mohammedans as money-changers are mentioned i.a. in *'Arib*, 135ᵃ, *Tan.*, i, 272; *Ecl.*, ii, 307, and in many other passages. That Mohammedans, despite the Quranic prohibition, engaged in money-lending, and in a considerable amount of speculation, particularly on crops, can be proved from numerous instances.

[2] M. Hoffmann, *Der Geldhandel der deutschen Juden im Mittelalter*, Leipzig, p. 7; W. Roscher, *Die Stellung der Juden im Mittelalter*, p. 506; Kiesselbach, *Der Gang des Welthandels im Mittelalter*, p. 45; Caro, *Sozial-*

eminent importance. In the tenth century this Jewish solidarity was especially strongly developed because of the peculiar cultural and religious organization of mediaeval Jewry. We know that at this period—known in Jewish history as the Gaonic era [1]—Babylonian Jewry was in active contact with all parts of the Jewish Diaspora (Khorasan, Persia, Palestine, Egypt, North Africa, Spain, etc.). This close connection was due to the position of the Babylonian academies of Sura and Pumbadita, that were regarded by all these Jewish communities as their cultural centre. These relations took the form not only of a voluminous correspondence on questions of religious law between communities desirous of guidance and the spiritual head, the Gaon, but also of money contributions from abroad for the upkeep of these academies.[2] This cultural and religious hegemony of Babylonian Jewry was partly the cause and partly the result of an economic hegemony, parallel to the general economic and political supremacy of Baghdad as capital of the ·Abbāsid Caliphate.

The merchants, connected with our court Jews, very probably included not only residents of Baghdad, or Babylonia, but also persons living in the more remote provinces of the Islamic empire. Relations with *Egypt* evidently existed.

Egypt and Babylonia were closely connected in those times, spiritually as well as economically. "Egyptian Jewry," says Mann, "no doubt received spiritual guidance

und *Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Juden im Mittelalter*, Leipzig, 1908; W. Sombart, *Die Juden u. d. Wirtschaftsleben*, p. 200 ff. J. Mann, l.c., p. 325, justly remarks "Of great furtherance for the expansion of the Jewish trade must have been the solidarity that existed among Jews all over the Diaspora." The Hebrew language also seems to have played herein an important unifying part.

[1] For the general understanding of this historical period, v. the general well-known histories of the Jews by Grätz, Dubnow, Dinaburg, Marx-Margolis, etc.

[2] "The Jews of all countries contributed generously and freely to the upkeep of the seats of learning in Babylon and in Palestine" (Mann, *JQR.*, x., p. 39).

from the Babylonian Gaons and their academies . . . on the other hand, the Babylonian schools in their turn obtained a good deal of material support, especially from the numerous Babylonian co-religionists that resided in Egypt." [1]

That relations with the province of *Ahwāz* must have existed is evident not only from the fact that Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram were called the bankers of that province (جهبذ الأهواز),[2] but also from the circumstance that this province was the stronghold of commercial and Jewish commercial activity.[3] Ahwāz was already in the ninth century a station and a commercial point *d'appui* for the Jewish merchants known as the "Radanites".[4] In its principal towns lived large Jewish communities which occupied an important economic position. The leading merchants

[1] J. Mann, *JQR.*, x, p. 15.

[2] *Vide Wuz.*, 81, 178; *Tan.*, ii, 84. Was the title of "jahbadh al-Ahwāz" bestowed upon them in virtue of their money affairs with the court or as a reward for them? The sources at any rate show them already advancing money to the State in their capacity as "jahbadh al-Ahwāz".

[3] Ahwāz was one of the most lucrative provinces of the 'Abbāsid empire; cf. *Misk.*, 335, where it is said: "When the revenue of Ahwāz will stop, the empire will cease to exist." Cf. also *Misk.*, 349–50.

[4] b. Chordadhbah, ed. de Goeje, *BGA.*, vi, p. 153; b. Fakīh, ed. de Goeje, *BGA.*, p. 270. There is already a considerable literature on the Radanites. However, no satisfactory explanation of the name has yet been given. One of the recent conjectures is that of Simonsen, who considers them to have been traders from the Rhone valley, i.e. "Rhodanici": "Il ne me paraît pas invraisemblable que les Radanites . . . sont des 'Rhodanici' c'est à dire des marchands et des navigateurs du pays du Rhone," *REJ.*, 1907 (54), pp. 141–2. *Vide*—to cite a few names taken from the literature on the subject—J. Schipper, *Der Anteil der Juden am europäischen Grosshandel mit dem Orient in "Heimkehr"*, ed. v. Kellner, 1912, pp. 138–172; Scheffer-Boichorst, *Zur Geschichte der Syrer im Abendlande: Mitteilungen des Institutes für oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung*, vi, p. 544; de Goeje, *Internationaal Handelverkeer in de Middeleeuwen in Opuscula*, iv, Amsterdam, 1908; W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, Leipzig, 1923, i, p. 125 ff. Whether there existed any relations between these Jewish merchants of the ninth century coming from the West and the predecessors of our banking firm of the tenth century, we are not able to elicit from the sources.

(معظم التجار) of Tustar,[1] we are explicitly told, were Jews. In Isfahân, whose economic importance won for it the title of "the second Baghdad", the so-called Yahûdiyya quarter had long been known as a great centre of trade and commerce.[2] In Ahwâz [3] city, whose economic leadership is celebrated by all the Arab geographers, the Arab sources mention at that time a Jewish money-changer named Ja'qûb [4] no doubt by reason of his prominent position—and an Isrâ'îl b. Ṣâliḥ [5] and a Sahl b. Naẓîr [6] as the bankers (*jahbadh*) of the Governor al-Barîdî. Sîrâf, in the tenth century a world-port and a clearing-house for trade between Yemen-Persia and China, had then a Jewish Governor by the name of "Ruzbah" (Roz-bih), the Persian equivalent of the Hebrew "Yom-ṭob".[7]

These few data [8] alone justify the inference of a widespread international Jewish economic activity in the province of Ahwâz and other parts of the 'Abbâsid empire, and it is at least not unreasonable to seek here some of the "merchants"

[1] *Muk.*, 257. The Jewish business men of Tustar are regarded as bankers, not as manufacturers; cf. also W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, Leipzig, 1923, i, pp. 291, 34 f. It will be recalled that the "Banu Sahl", the celebrated bankers and merchants of Egypt at the court of az-Zâhir and al-Mustanṣir in the eleventh century, were originally of Tustar. Cf. J. Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphate*, i, ii, 1920–2, i, 76–83, and Index.

[2] *Muqaddasi*, 388, 400; *I. al Fakîh*, 254[1], 267[13]; *Istakhri*, 182[5], 199[6].

[3] Cf. P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arabischen Geographen*, Leipzig, 1896 ff., v. Index. The existence of Jewish merchants in Ahwâz is also attested by a Jewish Persian document of the year 1020; see W. Fischel in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Berlin, 1932, vol. ix, s.v. *Jüdisch-Persisch*, p. 557 ff. Cf. D. S. Margoliouth, *JQR.*, xi, pp. 671–5.

[4] *Misk.*, 350.

[5] *Misk.*, 349; *Misk.*, ii, 52.

[6] *Misk.*, 349, 379. About a Sahl b. Nazir of the third century cf. *Tan.*, ii; *Islamic Culture*, 1930, p. 181.

[7] *Misk.*, ii, 218, 301; *Ecl.*, iii, 150. Cf. there Margoliouth's note to this passage.

[8] These quotations, given above, merely represent a few gleanings from Arab sources regarding Jewish commercial activity in the 'Abbâsid Caliphate. A further and systematic investigation on the subject is indeed one of the desiderata of Jewish historical research.

upon whom the court bankers drew for funds to finance the administration of the State.

In any case, the material we have presented clearly shows that a commercial and banking organization was in existence at the beginning of the tenth century; its centre lay in Baghdad,[1] its heads were Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram, the two Jews who acted as court bankers, and who had close business connections with rich merchants—Jews or non-Jews—of Baghdad, Ahwāz, and other provinces of the Islamic empire. These all fulfilled an important function in the economic life of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate, and by repeatedly supplying the indeed desperate money needs of the State, helped to stave off its ruin.

The Jewish Court Bankers in the Light of Gaonic Literature

I

With the help of these Arab sources and in the light of the data they furnish, we shall now proceed to demonstrate in a particular instance how the Arab sources may contribute to the elucidation of concrete problems of Jewish history and how a knowledge and understanding of events in Jewish history, which is based on Hebrew sources only, may be supplemented by contemporary Arab chronicles.

[1] That the Jews of Baghdad and Babylonia continued to engage in financial operations at a later period is also attested by our sources. This material, however, is reserved for another study. I only want to point out here a passage from the MS. al-Hamadhāni: Takmilat Ta'rīkh aṭ-Ṭabari (cited by Amedroz in *Misk.*, ii, pp. 8–9), where a Jewish banker Aaron is mentioned in the year 941 as the *jahbadh* of b. Shīrzād (هرون اليهودى جهبذ ابن شيرزاد). *Vide* also *Ecl.*, iii, p. 282, where a Jewish banker named Abu Ali b. Faḍlān (اليهودى) in Baghdad (998) refused to grant a loan (قرض) to the Emir Baha ad-Daulah, which led to an attack on Jews in order to get money out of them.

In 1910 L. Ginzberg published from the Oxford collection of manuscripts a Geniza fragment [1] from which we quote the following [2] :—

וכן כל חפץ ושאלה אשר יהיה לכם מצד
המלכות הגד תגידוהו לפנינו כי אז נצוה
את בעלי בתים חשובים אשר בבגדד אשר
אנחנו יושבים בינהם בני מ"ר נטירא ובני
מ"ר אהרן זכר הצדיקים לברכה יברך אלהיהם
דקימה ואז ישיבו לכם מאת המלך כאשר
יספיק יי' מעוזי בידם כן תעשו ואל תשנו.

Ginzberg's rendering of the passage is : –

"And thus whenever you have transactions with the Government, I admonish you to let us know about them, that we may consult with the prominent members of the Baghdād community in the midst of which we dwell, namely, the sons of R. Netira and the sons of R. Aaron . . . and then the Government [3] will deal with you according as the Lord will aid your helpers. Thus do ye and not otherwise."

The task set by the publication of this fragment was to find out the author and thereby the historical position of that document and to identify the prominent Jewish personalities named in it, so far as the available data permitted.

II

The problem of the authorship gave rise to numerous suppositions. L. Ginzberg [4] himself thought that R. Joseph, R. Saadya's opponent, was the author ; J. Mann [5] attributed

[1] Geonica (Genizah Studies), New York, 1910, ii, pp. 87–8.

[2] Cf. also *Iggeret R. Sherira Gaon*, ed. by B. Lewin, Haifa, 1921, p. xxx, with slight emendations.

[3] Egypt was then still a province of the 'Abbāsid empire, and thus subject to the central government in Baghdad.

[4] Ibid., ii, pp. 422–3.

[5] *JQR.*, vii (1916–17), p. 467.

the fragment to R. Nehemia, the Gaon of Pumbadita. On the other hand, H. Malter[1] attributed it to R. Dosa, the son of R. Saadya Gaon. Finally, J. N. Epstein[2] recognized, in the light of another document (published by D. Revel)[3] in 1923 under the title *Iggeret Rab Saadja Gaon*, that the author of Ginzberg's Geniza fragment was no other than R. Saadya Gaon al-Fayyūmi, who must have sent this letter shortly after his assumption of the Gaonate, i.e. in 928, from Baghdād to Egypt.[4]

In effect, this opinion of Epstein was brilliantly confirmed by another Geniza fragment, published in the following year (1924) by B. Lewin[5] from the collection of manuscripts of Isr. Lévi (Paris). The identity of handwriting and number of lines to the page (nineteen), as well as linguistic and stylistic reasons,[6] alone sufficed to indicate that this fragment ("L") and "G" were from one and the same manuscript. But in addition the following Arabic words were to be found at the beginning of "L" as heading :—

...כ[תא]ב ראס אלמתיבה אלפיומי ז"ל
[כ]תבה בבגדאד פי וקת אן ולי אלראסה (אלריאסה?)
[רסא?]לה אלי אהל מצר.

("Letter of Fayyūmi, of blessed memory, Head of the Academy (i.e. Gaon), written by him in Baghdād at the time of his appointment to the Headship as an epistle unto the people of Misr (i.e. Fustāt).)[7]

[1] *R. Saadia Gaon, his Life and his Works*, Philadelphia, 1922, p. 113.

[2] *Debir* (דביר), a Hebrew quarterly of Jewish science, ed. I. Elbogen, J. N. Epstein, and H. Torczyner, Berlin, 1923, i, p. 189.

[3] *Debir*, ibid., i, pp. 180–8.

[4] *Debir*, ibid., p. 190.

[5] *Ginze Kedem* (גנזי קדם), ed. B. Lewin, Haifa, 1923, ii, p. 34.

[6] Ibid., ii, p. 33, line 17, like the Ginzberg fragment, makes mention of בעלי בתים חשובים ונכבדים אשר בבגדד, which is a further evidence for the homogeneousness of "G" and "L".

[7] J. N. Epstein in *Debir*, 1924, ii, p. 325; cf. also B. Lewin in *Ginze Kedem*, ii, p. 34, and now J. Mann, *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature*, i, Cincinnati, 1931, p. 67.

Thus sender, time, place, and addressee were defined in all their particulars, and the question as to the authorship of Ginzberg's Geniza fragment was solved.

III

Ever since the publication of "G" the specialists have laboured to find an answer to the other question too, namely: Who were these "prominent members of the Baghdād community", those "Bne Netira" and "Bne Aaron" that were able to make representations to the Court and to intercede on behalf of their co-religionists?[1]

With regard to the "Bne Netira" we possess information from other Jewish sources. In a Geniza fragment published by Harkavy,[2] as well as in the Hebrew[3] and Arabic[4] report of Nathan Hababli. *Netira*, the father, appears as one of the leading Jewish notables[5] of Baghdad towards the end of

[1] S. Assaf (*Encyclop. Judaica*, vol. vii, p. 275, s.v. Geonim) says: "Die Geonim bemühten sich auch durch Vermittlung hoffähiger Juden Bagdads wie Netira und seine Söhne auf die Judenpolitik des Chalifenhofes Einfluss zu gewinnen." He does not, however, mention the "Bne Aaron". On the other hand, see D. S. Sassoon (*Encyclop. Judaica*, vol. iii, p. 957), s.v. Bagdad: "Unter den Juden in Bagdad zeichneten sich in der gaonäischen Zeit die Familien Mar Netira und Mar Aaron aus, die der Regierung nahe standen und um das Wohl der Juden in Bagdad und in anderen Provinzen bemüht waren."

[2] Published under the title *Netira und seine Söhne: eine angesehene jüdische Familie in Bagdad am Anfang des 10. Jahrhunderts* (Festschrift für A. Berliner, 1903, Hebrew part, pp. 34–43). Cf. hereto the additions and emendations of S. Fraenkel, *JQR.*, xvii (1905), pp. 386–8. Regarding J. Friedländer's hypothesis about the identity of the author of this Harkavy fragment with the Arabic report of Nathan Hababli and his opinion about both fragments being parts of a lost History of Baghdad (*JQR.*, xvii, 1905, pp. 747–760), cf. A. Marx, "Der arabische Bustanai Bericht und Nathan Hababli," in *Livre d'Hommage à la mémoire de S. Poznanski*, Warsaw, 1927, pp. 76–81.

[3] Ed. A. Neubauer, *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles*, Oxford, 1895, ii, p. 78, line 5, last, p. 79, line 11. About Nathan Hababli, cf. Ginzberg, *Geonica*, i, 22–36.

[4] J. Friedländer, "The Arabic Original of the Report of R. Nathan Hababli," *JQR.*, xvii (1905), pp. 747–761.

[5] Both reports of Nathan Hababli mention also a Joseph b. Phineas as one of the Baghdād notables who acted together with Netira. For the personality of the former see above, p. 348.

the ninth century (the reign of al-Mu'taḍid and his successors), who was in a position to influence the Caliph's decisions [1] in favour of his party in an internal dispute in the Jewish community.[2] The same sources, especially Harkavy's fragment, also give us particulars about the "*Bne* Netira", the sons, who are called Sahl and Izchak. Sahl the elder succeeded to his father in business, and occupied together with his brother Izchak [3] the same social and political position as he had. Like their father, the Bne Netira are represented as influential personalities, who in an internal quarrel of the Jewish community secured a decision of the Caliph in favour of their candidate for the Gaonate.[4]

In any case, the "Bne Netira" of these sources certainly answer to the description "of prominent members of the Baghdād community" which is applied to them in Saadya's fragment and possession of the influence in court circles which that document ascribes to them.

We do not, however, find in these Jewish sources any mention of persons whom we could equate with the "Bne Aaron". Regarding their identity the most divergent views

[1] *Vide* Neubauer, ii, 79–80; Friedländer, ibid., ii, 1, 13; for details thereon v. Graetz, *Geschichte*, vol. v, 4th edition, pp. 281, 446–559; Dubnow, *Weltgeschichte*, vol. iii, p. 474; A. Marx and L. Margolis, *History of the Jewish People*, p. 269.

[2] To what Netira's influence was due, we know from the extremely enlightening Geniza fragment published by Harkavy which gives us an interesting insight into the inner life of the Jewish community of Baghdād in general. One should, however, beware of relying on Harkavy's Hebrew translation which is inaccurate in many particulars.

It seems that al-Mu'taḍid appointed Netira to be collector of the Jews' poll-tax (Harkavy, ibid., p. 36). Opinions differ as to the official position in virtue of which the poll-tax was collected. Cf. Graetz, *Geschichte*, v, pp. 131, 435; cf., however, J. Mann, *JQR.*, x, 1919, p. 123 ff. Perhaps he was a *jahbadh*, an office which was, according to b. Taghribardi, ii, 174, as we have seen, the one which the Jews might occupy.

[3] The Harkavy fragment ends just where one hoped to find details about the nature of their joint business.

[4] The candidate of the Bne Netira was R. Saadya. Nathan Hababli states expressly that Saadya was victorious because those Bne Netira and other rich Jews of Baghdād were on his side and influenced the Caliph al-Muqtadir (ed. Neubauer, ii, 79).

have been expressed. L. Ginzberg [1] and so also H. Malter [2] thought that in this fragment Aaron b. Sarjado was Mar Aaron, the father of the Bne Aaron. Whilst, however, Aaron b. Sarjado was a very prominent and influential personality, and Gaon of Pumbadita [3] (943-960), this identification is precluded by chronological circumstances of which Ginzberg could not know at the time, namely that, as we have seen, the document which presupposes the death of Mar Aaron was sent by R. Saadya Gaon in the year 928, whereas this Aaron lived until 960.

J. Mann was especially zealous in his endeavours to identify the "Bne Aaron" on the basis of data furnished by further Geniza material. This zeal, however, carried him too far; for whenever he came across the name of "Aaron" or "Bne Aaron" for the most part such as flourished between 945 and 960 C.E. or whenever he found a prominent personality of the same period mentioned, he thought he had come upon the trail of the Aaron family of our Saadya fragment. This led to rather contradictory theories that did not advance the cause.[4]

Now that it has been established that the Saadya letter, in which the "Bne Aaron" are mentioned, was written in 928, all the conjectures connecting the "Bne Aaron" with persons that lived so much later are disposed of. The question

[1] *Geonica*, ii, p. 87.

[2] *R. Saadia Gaon, his Life and his Works*, Philadelphia, 1922, p. 133 n.

[3] About him, v. Graetz, v. 4 ed., p. 293, and H. Malter, ibid., *Encycl. Judaica*, s.v. He was one of the sharpest opponents of R. Saadya Gaon, and already, therefore, it would be very improbable to think of his sons, who, by the way, are nowhere mentioned, as of people who would have been helpful to the Egyptian friends of R. Saadya. J. Mann has also other reasons for rejecting Ginzberg's explanation. Cf. *REJ.*, 73 (1921), p. 109; *JQR.*, viii (1917-18), p. 34.

[4] Cf. J. Mann, *JQR.*, viii (1917-18), pp. 342 ff., 346, 347, "probably identical with the Bne Aaron, the influential grandees of Baghdad"; *Geonic Studies*, Hebrew Union College Jubilee volume, Cincinnati, 1925, p. 231; cf. *JQR.*, ix (1918-19), p. 156; *Texts and Studies*, p. 78. In view of the frequency of the name Aaron in Babylonian Jewry of this period, chronology is just the determining factor.

as to the identity of the "Bne Aaron" must be therefore taken up anew, but this I shall endeavour to do from an entirely new approach.

IV

As neither the hitherto published Geniza fragments nor any other Hebrew sources [1] could help us further in our search for the "Bne Aaron" or their father, it is necessary to turn to contemporary Arab sources. It has been long justly recognized [2] that references to Jews and Jewish events that are scattered throughout the rich treasures of Arab literature have not yet been fully utilized by Jewish historical research. The Arab historical sources in particular have not yet been subjected to a systematic investigation from this point of view, although many problems of interest to Jewish historians could thus have been advanced, if not solved. For methodological reasons alone the Arab sources ought not to be neglected by Jewish historians, even if the results prove scanty.[3]

This requirement is all the more reasonable as applied to Arab sources dealing with events that took place in Baghdād

[1] It must be remarked that J. Mann, in his recent monumental work (*Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature*, Cincinnati, 1931), does not offer any new opinion relative to the "Bne Aaron" problem. He only remarks on our Saadya letter: "Interesting is his promise to his correspondents in Egypt that their political requests would be taken care of in Baghdad by the influential sons of Netira and of Aaron who would intervene on their behalf at the seat of the government" (p. 70). Cf., however, p. 78.

[2] Cyrus Adler, "Jewish History in Arabian Historians," *JQR.*, ii (1890), p. 106; J. Mann, *JQR.*, vii, N.S., p. 458; J. Finkel, "An Eleventh Century Source for the History of Jewish Scientists in Mohammedan Countries," *JQR.*, xviii (1927), p. 45 ff. Finkel justly observes: "The numerous branches of the immense Arabic literature contain so many data on Jewish faith and culture that were this material gathered, it would reach the magnitude of a considerable 'Bibliotheca'."

[3] *Vide* E. Fagnan, *Arabo-Judaica*, in *Mélanges H. Derenbourg*, Paris, 1909, pp. 103–120, an endeavour that, however, was not carried further. On the other hand, I. Friedländer, I. Goldziher, A. Harkavy, S. Poznanski, J. Mann, and others have shown in their works over and over again that the Arab sources can be exceedingly helpful to the Jewish historian.

and in the eastern provinces of the 'Abbāsid Empire, and that in an age of such importance as that of the Gaonate.

Why should not persons like the " Bne Aaron " and " Bne Netira ", who are expressly stated to have had access to the Court, have left some record of their names and activities in the Arab chronicles of that period ? In effect, as we shall see, the solution to our problem lies just here. The מלך (king) of Saadya's letter, who reigned at the time of these " Bne Aaron " and " Bne Netira " and who maintained relations with them, was no other than the Caliph al-Muqtadir.

Now the Arab sources with which we have been dealing all along all embrace just the reign of this sovereign ; that they tell of some influential Jews we have already seen. I now wish to make the assertion that the two bankers and " Hofjuden ", Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram, are closely connected with the " prominent members of the Baghdād community " of whom Saadya speaks ; and more particularly, that Aaron b. Amram to start with him— is no other than the long-sought father of the " Bne Aaron ".

In order to achieve a demonstration which can claim methodical correctness, I shall briefly recapitulate what conditions of time, place, social status, etc., must be satisfied by those whose identity with the " prominent members of the Baghdād community " in the Saadya fragment is alleged.

(1) They must have resided in Baghdād.[1]

(2) They must have been in direct relations with Baghdād governmental circles, which enabled them to intervene on behalf of their brethren (even those from other provinces) before the Caliph.

(3) They must already have held an influential position in 928, at the time of the Caliph al-Muqtadir.[2]

[1] This feature precludes any attempt to identify them with personalities residing elsewhere.

[2] The letter of R. Saadya was written in 928.

(4) They must have been indebted to their fathers [1] for their high office.[2]

(5) At the time when this letter was written, i.e. in 928, their fathers, Mar Netira and Mar Aaron, could not have been alive any more.[3]

(6) "Bne Netira" and "Bne Aaron" must have been contemporaries.[4]

(7) They must also have been partisans of R. Saadya.[5]

That the Aaron b. Amram of the Arab writings with which we have been dealing satisfies all the conditions for the father of the "Bne Aaron" can be seen at a glance. He lived in Baghdād. He had close relations with the highest Government circles. He was Court Banker for many years between 908 and 924 (he is not heard of at any later date). He was obviously the right man to intercede before the Caliph on behalf of his co-religionists. It is true that only one son of his receives mention in Arabic sources as having appeared at Court in connection with his father's functions as *jahbadh*.[6]

[1] The "Bne Netira" and "Bne Aaron" seem to have been influential only in virtue of their being heirs of a position held by their fathers. They were just the "sons of their fathers" and are therefore called "*Bne* Netira" and "*Bne* Aaron" without further specification.

[2] The text gives the impression that we have here to do with purely mundane personalities, prominent in politics or business, and not with Talmudic celebrities.

[3] Note the phrase זכר הנאספים לברכה.

[4] The fact that the two families are mentioned together as they are, is an important chronological indication that has hitherto not been taken into account. It teaches us that only contemporaries of the "Bne Netira" can be identified with the "Bne Aaron".

[5] Apart from the fact that R. Saadya was obviously on cordial terms with them, we have direct evidence that Sahl b. Netira was a pupil of his. Cf. Harkavy, ibid., pp. 38, 40.

[6] A comparison between *Misk.*, 112, and *Misk.*, 128, shows that this "Ben Aaron" was probably called Bishr. About the name Bishr b. Aaron there is a lack of clarity in the Arab sources. There is an Abū Naṣr Bishr b. Aaron, who is expressly called "the Christian secretary" (*al-kātib an-naṣrāniyy*) (cf. e.g. *Tabari*, 1511, 1524; *Tan.*, i, 52; *Wuz.*, 33, 159, 243), and a Bishr b. Aaron without any qualification, who is probably the son of our Aaron b. Amram. The index to the *Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, s.v. Bishr, does not clear the matter up. The *jahbadh* of the Vizier b. al-Furāt was Aaron b. Amram; the index, however, attributes the same function also to

But all the sons and some other members of the families of Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram were collectively included under the designation "successors" and "heirs".

There remains, therefore, only the requirement of synchronism: Were this Aaron b. Amram's children contemporary with the "Bne Netira"?

V

We have already seen from the report of Nathan Hababli that the "Bne Netira" lived at the time of the Caliph al-Muqtadir and played an important part at his court. But at the very same time, as the Arab sources show us, Aaron b. Amram and his sons occupied a similar position. We should therefore have expected to find in the Arab sources, that have proved so rich in data on Aaron b. Amram, some particulars about his contemporaries, the Netira family. However, the Arab sources accessible to-day do not mention any Netira, and only in another connection a "Ben Netira".[1]

a Bishr b. Aaron. This is hardly to be explained otherwise than by assuming that this Bishr is a son of Aaron b. Amram, who, as we have seen, appears at court on business with his father in *Misk.*, 128.

If this is so, then there exists a considerable amount of probability in favour of further identifying him with Bishr b. Aaron, the son-in-law of Aaron b. Joseph Sarjado, who, according to Jewish sources, subsequently undertook to play the part of mediator between the Saadyan party, to whom in that case his own family the "Bne Aaron" belonged, and their bitter opponents, of whom his father-in-law was the most influential and wealthy. This probability is certainly not weakened by the description of Bishr b. Aaron in the Jewish sources as an exceedingly rich and prominent member.

Cf. Neubauer, *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles*, ii, p. 80 ff.; J. Mann, *JQR.*, xi, n.s., p. 426; ix, p. 156 n.; *Encycl. Judaica*, i, p. 56, s.v. Aaron b. Joseph ha Kohen Sarjado.

[1] The Sahl b. Nazir, mentioned in *Misk.*, 349 and 379, who acted as *jahbadh* to the governor Baridi in Ahwāz (936), is perhaps identical with our Sahl b. Netira of Baghdād. The Harkavy fragment tells us that Sahl b. Netira had in Fars a bazār or market that yielded him 2,000 dirham a day; this might be taken as an indication of some connection between them. It is not unlikely that after the Caliph al-Muqtadir's death business interests led him to Ahwāz where he became *jahbadh* to Baridi. The story of his cruel death at the hand of Baridi is related in *Misk.*, 379. On a Sahl b. Nazir of the ninth century cf. *Islamic Culture*, 1930, p. 161.

On the other hand, as has been shown, another Jewish personality is constantly mentioned together with Aaron b. Amram, namely, Joseph b. Phineas. The latter also bore the title of *jahbadh*, held the same privileged position at the court of the Caliph al-Muqtadir, and helped, together with Aaron b. Amram, to supply the Caliph's pecuniary needs. Might this Joseph b. Phineas perhaps have had something to do with the "Bne Netira"?

This question can now be answered with the help of our Jewish sources in an unequivocally affirmative sense. For these sources, which just on that point supplement the Arab ones, likewise mention our Joseph b. Phineas as an important and influential personality, but moreover furnish us with the further information that he used his influence with the Caliph on behalf of Babylonian Jewry, *together with one Netira*: the very same Netira of whose activities I have already spoken and whose sons the "Bne Netira" are mentioned by Saadya. But not only this. Furthermore, the Jewish sources state explicitly the relationship that existed between Joseph b. Phineas and Netira. In the Hebrew report [1] of Nathan Habablí we hear of יוסף בן פינחס וחתנו נטירא "Joseph b. Phineas and his son-in-law Netira", and in the Arabic report [2] more detailed יוסף בן פינחס וכתנה זוג אבנתה נטירא אבו סהל ואסחאק "Joseph b. Phineas and his son-in-law, the husband of his daughter, Netira and father of Sahl and Isaac".

Thus we see that Joseph b. Phineas was Netira's father-in-law, and so the grandfather of the "Bne Netira".

This important statement about the kinship between Netira and Joseph b. Phineas allows us to recognize a remarkable correspondence of personalities between the Arab and Hebrew literary sources of the tenth century.

Just as the Arab sources represent Joseph b. Phineas and

[1] *Nathan Habablí*, ed. Neubauer, ii, 78.

[2] J. Friedländer, *JQR.*, xvii (1905), p. 747, text recto i, l. 9–10.

Aaron b. Amram[1] as joint holders of one and the same high office, so, on the other hand, the Saadya letter speaks of the "Bne Netira" and "Bne Aaron" as of contemporaries who acted together in virtue of one and the same high degree of influence at court.[2] The parallel is too obvious to leave any room for doubt; the Arab sources speak of the father and the grandfather, the Hebrew ones of the sons and the grandsons!

The parallel would of course have been more striking still if the Arab sources had named "Netira" instead of Joseph b. Phineas.[3] It seems, however, that Joseph b. Phineas outlived his son-in-law Netira, and continued the latter's business together with his grandsons, the "Bnē Netira". It is not impossible that it was just Netira's death that induced his father-in-law, Joseph b. Phineas, to go into

[1] Having established that the father of the "Bne Aaron" of the Hebrew sources was in all probability Aaron b. Amram, one naturally asks whether the Jewish sources of that period make any mention of an "Aaron b. Amram" with whom he might be identified. As a matter of fact, the name of a highly respected Aaron b. Amram does occur in an epistle of the Palestinian Ben Meir of the year 921. Cf. *Encycl. Judaica*, iv, pp. 64–70, s.v. Ben Meir. Cf. Eppenstein, "Beiträge zur gaonäischen Literatur," *MGWJ.*, 1913, pp. 455–8; Graetz, vol. v, 4th ed., p. 447, n. 1; S. Schechter, *Saadyana*, Cambridge, 1903, p. 20, and above all, J. Ch. Bornstein in *Sefer ha jobel likebod N. Sokolow*, Warsaw, 1904, p. 105.

[2] The connection between the Court-Jews of the Arab sources and the בעלי כרים חשובים of the Saadya letter gives us an answer to the question that was asked above as to the concrete position which the "Bne Netira" and "Bne Aaron" might have held at court. Apparently they held the office of *jahbadh*, working in the banking firm founded by their father and their grandfather. They were considered as their legal heirs, to whom the Vizier 'Ali b. 'Isa alludes as the "successors" and "heirs". The family connections of prominent Jews in that age suggest the supposition that the family of the "Bne Netira" and the "Bne Aaron" were later on also allied by marriage.

[3] The chronology in the Harkavy fragment is not clear. The Arab text of the fragment says that Mu'tadid's son, al-Muqtadir, succeeded to his father. But we know that al-Muqtadir was preceded by Muktafi (902–8). Though Harkavy (ibid., p. 39) has already corrected this, his statement about Netira's time of office does not seem to be correct. The sources report that Netira remained in office eight years after Mu'tadid's death, i.e. until 910, and not as Harkavy says until 916.

partnership with the merchant and banker Aaron b. Amram, whose social and communal position was similar to his own, in order the more easily to carry on the business of his family.

If, therefore, Saadya found the heirs of these magnates the most suitable intercessors in Jewish causes at the Royal Court, it was thanks to their position and functions, of which, with the help of contemporary Arab sources, we have been able to reconstruct, we hope, an essentially accurate picture.

FF.

The *Pand-Nāmah* of Subuktigin

By M. NAZIM

THE *Pand-Nāmah* or the "Counsel" of Subuktigīn to his son Maḥmūd is the earliest work of its kind in the Persian language. It not only formulates some important principles of administration, but also furnishes valuable information about an obscure period of history, viz. the early life of Subuktigīn and the origin of his family.

When Alptigīn died, his slave named Ṭughāntigīn assumed independence in the province of Bust. About A.H. 366 (A.D. 976) Pāītūz defeated him and took possession of Ghazna. Ṭughāntigīn appealed for help to Subuktigīn, who agreed to reinstate him on condition that he recognized him as his overlord and paid annual tribute. Accordingly, Subuktigīn marched to Bust in A.H. 367 (A.D. 977–8), defeated Pāītūz, and reinstated Ṭughāntigīn. Ṭughāntigīn, however, refused to pay the promised tribute, and even tried to put Subuktigīn to death treacherously. Subuktigīn therefore turned his arms against Ṭughāntigīn and made preparations to punish him, but Ṭughāntigīn fled to Kirmān, and Subuktigīn annexed Bust to his kingdom.[1] Before proceeding to Bust Subuktigīn appointed Maḥmūd, who was then only about 7 years of age, as his deputy at Ghazna, with Bū 'Alī of Kirmān as his wazir. It was at this time that he wrote the *Pand-Nāmah* for the guidance of the young prince in the work of administration.

The earliest work in which there is a reference to this *Pand-Nāmah* is the *Jawāmi'u'l-Ḥikāyāt* of Sadīdu'd-Dīn Muḥammad al-'Awfī. On f. 142*a* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, persan, 75) al-'Awfī says :—

آورده اند که در آن وقت که امیر سبکتگین رحمه
الله علیه برای معاونت طغانتگین بطرف بست حرکت

[1] These events are given in detail by al-'Utbi in his *Kitābu'l-Yamīnī* (Lahore ed.), pp. 17–19.

فرمود و بجهت مناصرت و معاونت او لشکر کشید
فرزند خود محمود را رحمة الله علیه در قلعه غزنین بنشاند
و او را به نیابت خود نصب فرمود و وزارت به بو علی
کرمانی تفویض فرمود و او را وصیتها کرد یکی ازان
جمله آن بود که اصحاب حاجات را پیش خوانی و انصاف
مظلومین از ظالمان بستانی و هرچه که من روا نداشته ام
اگر پسرم خواهد که از راه کودکی آن بر دست گیرد
باید که به پیغام و نبشته مرا ازان اعلام دهی و رضای
او در آنچ فرماید بجوئ و پیادگان و نقیبان را در قلعت
بیکدیگر سپاری و هیچکس را بی حاجت و ضرورت
بیرون نگذاری ـ پس محمود را گفت ای پسر ما را تو
عزیز تر از هر دو جهانی لاکن بدان که تا مرد بجد
مردی نرسد و رنج نکشد از مقام یك سواری بدرجت
امیری و سپاه داری نرسد و خطر و خوف جهان معلوم
وی نگردد و من که پدر تو ام منازل و مراحل جهان بسیار
دیدم تا بدین بارگاه رسیدم ـ باید که سخنان من یادگیری
وپند من بپذیری که من رفتم و گفتنی گفتم ـ اگر

بسلامت آیم عذر باز خواهم واگر رفتم اجل را تدبیری
نیست بدانك بادشاهی نکـو خواهی اسـت و طریـق
جهانداری بردباری ـ

چیز بخشیدن و کم آزاری
هست آئین مملکت داری

و بزرگان گفته اند که او درین پندها تمامت قانون
سیاست و ریاست را درج کرد ست ـ

It is stated that when Amīr Subuktigīn (the mercy of God be upon him!) went to Bust to help Ṭughāntigīn and led an army to assist him, he installed his son Maḥmūd (the mercy of God be upon him!) in the fort of Ghaznīn, made him his deputy, and entrusted the duties of wazir to Bū 'Alī of Kirmān and gave him many instructions, one of which was this: You should encourage needy persons to approach you, and avenge the oppressed on their oppressors. (He also said to him): If my son, by reason of his childishness, wants to do that which I have disapproved, you should seek his pleasure in whatever he commands, but should communicate it to me by oral message as well as by written word. You should place the fort in charge of foot-soldiers and leaders . . . (?) and should prevent all egress without business or necessity. Then he said to Maḥmūd: O son, you are dearer to me than both the worlds, but know that until a person attains to manhood and suffers hardships, he cannot rise to the rank of Amīr and commander from the position of a one horse trooper and become aware of the risks and dangers of this world. I, your father, have passed through several

stages of this world before attaining to this position. You should remember my words and take my exhortation to heart, for I am saying what is worth saying before I go away. If I return, I shall offer excuses for this trouble, but if I die, doom cannot be averted by prudence. Know that kingship is benevolence and the method of holding the world is forbearance.

> Bestowing rewards and doing little injury,
> Is the way of keeping an empire.

Wise men have said that in those counsels he has collected all the principles of good Administration.

On f. 391*b* (or 236 Br. Museum) al-'Awfī again makes a passing reference to this *Pand-Nāmah*, in his account of the expedition of Subuktigin to Bust, in the following words:—

سبکتگین بطرف بست رفت و امیر یمین الدولة
محمود را به نیابت خود در قلعه غزنین بنشاند و او را
وصیتهای خوب کرد و پندهای پدرانه داد ـ

Subuktigin went to Bust and left Amīr Yamīnu'd-Dawlah Maḥmūd as his deputy in the fort of Ghaznīn. He gave him very useful counsels and paternal admonition.

The only other work in which the *Pand-Nāmah* is mentioned is the *Āthāru'l-Wuzarā* of Saifu'd-Dīn Ḥajjī b. Niẓām al-Faḍlī, a work of the middle of the ninth century A.H. On f. 88*a* (India Office MS. No. 1569), in the account of Abu'l Fatḥ of Bust, it is said :—

پندنامه که امیر سبکتگین به پسر خود سلطان
محمود نوشته است بخط او ست وبغایت فائده مند است

درین کتاب نوشتن آن به تطویل می انجامید مشروع
در تاریخ مجمع الانساب مذکور است۔

The *Pand-Namāh*, which Amīr Subuktigīn wrote for his son Sulṭān Maḥmūd, was in his (Abu'l Fatḥ's) handwriting. It is extremely useful. Copying it in extenso in this book would have tended to lengthen this account. It is given in detail in the history named *Majma'u'l-Ansāb*.

The *Majma'u'l-Ansāb* referred to by al-Faḍlī was written by Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Alī b. ash-Shaikh Maḥmūd b. Ḥusain b. Abū Bakr in the year A.H. 733 (A.D. 1332–3), which was the sixteenth regnal year of Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd, a great-grandson of Hulāgū Khān. Several manuscripts of this book are extant in the Oriental libraries of Europe and India, but the portion dealing with the Ghaznavids is omitted from all those which the writer was able to consult except the one in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Supplément Persan 1278). The text of the *Pand-Nāmah* given below is therefore based on that manuscript only.

پندنامه

(f. 226b) . . . واین پندنامه امیر سبکتگین املا
کرد و ابو الفتح بستی بخط خود نوشت و امیر محمود بعد
از پدر آنرا در غلاف گرفته بود و هر روز مطالع کردی
تاکارش بسلطنت رسید ۔ اول گفت ای پسر بدانکه
من احوال خود با تو بگویم تا تو بدانی که خدای تعالیٰ
در هر ذاتی خاصیتی نهاد که آن خاصیت در آن آدمی البته

پیدا شود و بدانکه تخم من از ترکستان از قبیله ایست
که آنرا برسخان گویند و این نام بر آن قبیله ازان افتاد
که گویند بروزگار قدیم یکی از ملوك ایران زمین
بترکستان شد و ملك ترکستان گشت و او را پارسی
خوان گفتندی و بکثرت استعمال برسخان شد و پدرم
را نام جوق بود و لقب برسخان ـ و برسخان بلفظ ترکان
زور آور باشد و پدرم چندان زور داشت که استخوان پای
اسپ بدست بشکستی و نامی داشت از زه کمان
گسیختن و کشتی گرفتن و سواری وغیره ـ و رسم
او آن بود که به تنها سلاح بر گرفتی وبه پایگاه
بیگانگان زدی و غارت و کشتن کردی و برده آوردی
و رسم ترکان هم چنین است که بر یکدیگر تاختن
ـ کنند ـ و او را فرزندان بسیار بودند و پسر سیومش
من بودم و او مهمانرا (f. 227a) دوست داشتی و همه روز
مهمانان بخانهٔ او آمدندی ـ روزی مهمانان رسیدند و درمیان
ایشان پیر مردی بود کاهن و من با دیگر طفلان در
گوشهٔ خانه خرگاه نشسته بودم ـ پیر مرا چون بدید

پیش خود خواند و بکف دست من نگاه کرد و
گفت ای بسا شگفتی که بر سر این کودك خواهد
گذشت و او بامیری رسد و نسل او پادشاهان باشند۔
من آن سخن را در دل گرفتم و امروز هرچه مرا
پیش آمد سخن آن پیر مرا یاد آید۔ و قضا چنان افتاد
که در آن هفته قومی از ترکان که ایشان را بختیان گوینا
بر قبیلهٔ ما تاختن کردند و پدر ما بشکار رفته بود۔
ایشان بنگاه ما را غارت کردند و مرا به بردگی بردنا
و آن روز مرا دوازده سال بود۔ و از ما تا زمین آ
بختیان مسافتی دور بود و پدر مرا ممکن نشد بطلب م
آمدن و مرا بقبیلهٔ بختیان بردند۔ و ایشان بت پرستیدند
و در صحرای یك سنگ به شکل آدمی تراشیده بودند
گفتندی خود رسته است و همه وقت پیش آن سنگ
سجده کردندی و آنجا زیارت گاهی بود ایشانرا و م
بگوسفند چرانیدن مشغول کردند و بصحرا بودی
هر روز گذر من بر این بت بودی و مرا خدای با
افگند که این بختیان بدبخت قومی اند که هر روز پید

سنگی سجده می کنند۔ روزی گفتم من با این بت
گستاخی کنم به بینم که مرا مکافاتی می شود۔ پس بدیدم
و ازان نجاسات و پلیدیها که ازان قربانها که از برای آن
بت کرده بودند افتاده بود بر سر چوبی کردم و بر روی و
بر تن آن صورت اندودم۔ روز دیگر مرا هیچ آسیبیٔ
نرسید و خود چه رسیدی از سنگ جاد بر من۔ پس هر
روز چنین کردمی و یقین من در خدا شناسی زیاده شدی۔
و من چهار سال درمیان آن قوم بودم۔ پس مرا با چند
غلام دیگر بشهرهایٔ ماوراء النهر آوروند و بفروختند و
مرا خواجهٔ بخرید از شهر چاچ نام او نصر حاجی۔ و
نصر مرا با چند غلام دیگر بشهر نخشب آورد و من
آنجا رنجور شدم و مرا بدست پیر زنی سپرد و زری
چند داد و گفت این را خرج میکن تابه شود ومن سه
سال (f. 227b) درآن رنجوری بماندم و نصر هر سال
بیامدی به برده خریدن و من همچنان رنجور بودم و مرا
بگذاشت ۔ و آن زن مرا بغیر از مداوات طبیب هیچ
ندادی و من ضعیف شده بودم و هرچند گفتمی مرا

نان و گوشت دهید ندادندی - روزی خفته بودم - از
دور کاغذی پیچیده دیدم بستدم و باز کردم - پر از
نقرهٔ شکسته بود - صبر کردم تا آن زن از خانه بیرون
رفت - و آن زن را پسری بود جوانی نیکو سیرت و بامن
دوست بود - آن نقره بوی دادم و گفتم از برای من
قدری گوشت و قدری جغرات بیاور - رفت و بیاورد و
دیگ بر نهاد و بپخت و من بخوردم و آن شب خوش
بخفتم و تا سه روز آن جوان به پنهان مادر آن گوشت و
جغرات می داد تا به شدم - باز حال بزن بگفتم و او نیز
از همان طعام بمن می داد - بقرب یك ماه چنان شدم که
بحد اول باز رفتم - و مرا هوس سلیح گری و سواری
بود و آن پسر مردی بود که در سلاح گری استاد بود
و همه اهل نخشب پسرانرا پیش او آوردندی و سلاح
و آداب سواری بیاموختی - پس مرا به برادری قبول
کرده بود و دقایق تیراندازی و اسپ دوانیدن و نیزه
و شمشیر بیاموخت و نصر آن سال باز آمد و مرا
بر گرفت و به بخارا آورد و مرا بر سر همه غلامان امیر

کرد و اعتماد تمام بر من داشت و حال من به پیش امیر
البتگین بگفتند و امیر البتگین یگانهٔ سامانیان بود ـ
مرا از نصر بخواست و نصر را میسر نه شد که ندهد
مرا با ده غلام باو فروخت و امیر البتگین مرا بر سر
آن ده غلام امیر کرد و حال من بدین رسید که مرا
امروز می بینی و مرا خدای تعالیٰ امیری داد و بر سر
بندگان خود حاکم گردانید ـ این است احوال من.

اکنون آگاه باش ای پسر که اگر ترا خدای
تعالیٰ همچون من امیری روزی گرداند بدانکه حکم بر
بندگان خدای تعالیٰ کردن کوچك کاری نیست و
پادشاهی کاری با خطر است و در دنیا خطر جاه هست و
در آخرت خطر دین ـ باید که از خدای بترسی ـ چون
تو از خدای ترسان باشی بندگان خدای تعالیٰ نیز از تو
بترسند ـ وباید که پارسا باشی که ملك ناپارسا را حرمت
نباشد (f. 228a) و اول کاری آن کنی که خزانه را و بیت
المال را آبادان داری که ملك را بمال توان داشتن و اگر
ترا مال و زر و نعمت نباشد هیچ کس فرمان تو نبرد و

مال حاصل نشود الا بامارت وتدبیر عقل و امارت میسر
نشود الا بعدل و راستی و جهد کن تا همه مردمان را
مشفق خود گردانی بدانك دل ایشان باحسان و بذل مال
بدست آری و هیچ خلقی مطیع چون خودی نشود الا
بدانکه او را نباشد و تو بدهی و باید که بلند همت باشی
و همت در آدمی همچون آتش است که بلندی جوید و
لهو و بازی و لذت و شهوة مزاج خاك دارد همه میل
پستی کند و باید که جمع مال از وجهی باشد که جمیل باشد
و من ترا نمی گویم که مال از رعایا بستان که هر کس که
مال ناواجب از رعایا بستاند آن مال عنقریب وبال او
باشد و رعایا گنج پادشاه اند چون گنج تهی باشد
پادشاهی بچه کار آید و نیز نمی گویم که چنان نرم شو
که مال حق از رعایا نستانی ـ باید که حق خدای تعالیٰ
بیش هیچ آفریده نگذاری و هر کرا حقی واجب باشد
بلطف از وی بستانی و بدان مصرف که خدای تعالیٰ و
رسول علیه السلام فرموده است نگاه داری ـ و جای
که شمشیر بکار آید تازیانه را کار نفرمایٔ و نیز جای که

تازیانه باید شمشیر نزنی ـ و غافل مباش از کسانی که سالها
عاملی کرده باشند و مالهائی که بمدتها توفیر کرده باشند
نواب و کسان تو خرج کنند تا تو ایشان را باز عمل
فرستی پس باید که عاملی که دو سه سال در موضعی یا
شهری یا دهی بوده باشد از حال او با خبر باشی و حساب
او بر گیری و اگر محقق شود که غیر راستی از کسی
چیزی بستده باشد آن مال را باز ستانی و او را تادیب
کرده باز سر عمل خود فرستی تا اگر مرد عاقل است
ازین یك نوبت بیدار شود و من بعد خیانت نکند و
اگر دیگر بار خیانت کند او را معزول کنی ـ و مهم تر
کاری آنست که از کار لشکر و مواجب و روزیهای
ایشان باخبر باشی و باید که حال ایشان چنان معلوم تو
باشد که هر روز همچون قل هو الله می خوانی و ایشانرا
چنان آماده و مطیع داری که اگر کاری افتد (f. 229b)
اگر صباح گوی چون چاشتگاه باشد همه لشکر تو با
جلگی سلاح و عدت بر نشسته باشند ـ و مردمان مستمد
را نیکو دار و کسانی که سست باشند و ایشان را رگ

مردی کارها نباشد پیش خود مدار ـ ومگوی که فلان
پسر فلان است و از برای پدری مال خدای تعالیٰ ضایع
مکن و حق مستحق ده مثلا کسی را اقطاع بوده باشد
و آنکس مرد و او را پسری ناخلف هست یا مال خود
دارد و محتاج اقطاع سلطان نیست و چند کس دیگر
محتاج باشند تو آن اقطاع را برای روان پدر او همچنان
بدان ناخلف دهی مال خدای تعالیٰ ضایع کرده باشی ـ
مال بدان کس ده که از برای مصلحت ملك تو کاری
کند و راهها ایمن دارد و پیوسته مشغول این باش ـ و
اگر عیاذاً بالله کالای بازرگانی در راهی ببرند تو چنان
دانی که مال از خزانهٔ تو برده اند و چنان سعی کن که
دزد را بگیری و مال بستانی و حد خدای بر وی برانی
و الا مال از خاصهٔ خود با صاحب کالا دهی و الا روز
شمار خدای تعالیٰ ترا ازان بپرسد تا دانی ـ و باید که
کریم باشی ورحیم و عفو تو از خشم تو زیاده باشد تا
مردمان بتو رغبت کنند اما در دو گناه هرگز عفو کار
نفرمایٔ یکی آنکه در مملکت شرکت جوید و یکی که

عال مسلمانان دست دراز کند و این دو قوم را زنده
نگذاری باقی گناهکاران هر کسی بر حسب گناه تادیب
و عفو می کنی و بخشنده و سخی باشی اما مسرف و متلف
نه ـ و مردمان لاف زن و گزاف گوی پیش خود راه
ندهی و زنهار تا بسخن ایشان التفات نکنی که بیشتر
اسرار پادشاه از مردمان هزال و سهل گیر بدر رود و
دشمنان بر اسرار ملك واقف شوند و ازان قبح هایٔ قوی
خیزد ـ و کار هر کس پدید کنی که خدای تعالیٰ در هر
ذاتی صفاتی و خاصیتی آفریده است و این مرتبه نیکو
بشناسی زیرا کار وزارت از ستوربان نیاید اگرچه
ستوربان را آلت و عدت باشد و هرگز درین کار تقصیر
مکن و کار دیگر بدیگری مفرمای و اگر ده روز
فراش حاضر نباشد شراب دار را مفرمای که این فرش
بیفگن کسی را از اهل و بیت او بگوی تا آن کار کند
که خلل ممالك ازین سهو است که از طبع خیزد ـ و
باید که دوست و دشمن خود را (f. 229a) بشناسی و این
را کیاستی تمام باید و علمی کامل تا بر طبع مردمان واقف

شود و این معنی بامتحان میسر شود چنانکه در جزا و
سزا بحال هر کس واقف شوی ــ و بدانکه دشمن بزرگ
پادشاه خود رای است و استبداد و باید که در هر کاری
با مردمان مشفق که دوستی ایشان آزموده باشد مشورة
کنی و بعقل خود در آن تصرف نمای و با دشمنان که
باتو در یك مرتبه باشند با ایشان لطف و مدارا کنی و
اگر ازان مرتبه بگذرد در آن کار جز شمشیر چارهٔ
نباشد ــ و در کار حربها و کارزارها تامل بسیار واجب
داری که کار جنگ همچو بازر گانیست یا بر آید یا فر
شود باید که در اول اندیشه کنی و تا صلاح پذیر
باشد میل حرب نکنی الا در جنگ کردن با کافران ــ
بدترین دشمنان ایشان باشند که ملك ازیشان شده باش
زیرا که هرگز دل ایشان دوست نشود و اگرچه سبد
نکبت دولت ایشان نه تو باشی چون ملك در دست
بینند حسد برند ــ با ایشان حاضر و بیدار باید بودن
پیوسته ایشان را دلتنگ باید داشت و سرّ خود از
طایفه نهان باید کرد ــ وبدانکه وقت باشد که دو

دشمن گردد اما هرگز دشمن دوست نشود ـ و باید که
خویشان و اقربا دوست داری و با کهتران شفقت ورزی
و با مهتران حرمت نگاه داری الا با کسی که در ملك
تو طمع کند او را محابا نکنی و شکسته و مالیده داری و
تا بند و زندان بر ایشان کفایت شود شمشیر کار نفرمای
و اگر دانی که بند سودی نکند آنگاه معذور شوی ـ
و باید که پیوسته جاسوسان را بر گماری تا احوال
مملکتها و لشکرهائ بیگانه و شهرهائ دور بتو آرند و
در شهر و مملکت خود صاحب بریدان امین داری تا ترا
از کار رعیت و عدل و انصاف عمال خبر دهند ـ و باید
که هر روز چون نماز خفتن کرده باشی مجموع احوال
ممالك خود مفصلاً معلوم کرده باشی تا کار ترا رونقی
باشد ـ و باید که از دخل و خرج ملك واقف باشی و
از دبیران و وزیران غافل نباشی که وقت باشد که
دبیران خائن شوند و با عامل راست شوند و مال ببرند
و گاه گاه بر سر ایشان زمام داری ـ و باید که این
سخنان که من ترا گفتم همه را یاد داری و بر دل منقش

کی تا از روز بهان باشی - این است نصیحت و وصیت
من پرتو و من از گردن خود بیرون کردم - و الله
اعلم و احکم.

(F. 226*b*) . . . Amīr Subuktigin dictated this *Pand-Nāmah* and Abu'l-Fatḥ of Bust wrote it in his own handwriting.[1] After the death of his father, Amīr Maḥmūd had it encased in a cover and used to read it every day until he attained to sovereignty.

Firstly, he said : O son, know that I am going to tell you the story of my life so that you may understand that God has endowed every being with special characteristics which inevitably manifest themselves in that being. Know that my origin is from Turkistān from a clan called Barskhān. That clan was so called because it is said that in olden days one of the rulers of Īrān went to Turkistān and became king there. He was called Pārsī-Khwān[2] which by frequent usage became (contracted into) Buruskhān. My father's name was Jūq and his title was Buruskhān,[3] which means "powerful" in the Turkish language. My father was so strong that he used to break the shanks of a horse with his hands. He was renowned for snapping the bow by pulling the bow-strings, wrestling, riding, etc. His practice was to put on armour, attack the stronghold of an enemy single-handed, kill and plunder, and bring captives as slaves. It is customary with the Turks to attack one another.

He had many children, and I was his third son. He loved

[1] According to *Kitābu'l-Yamīnī* of al-'Utbī, Subuktigin took Abu'l-Fatḥ of Bust into his service after the conquest of Bust. The *Pand-Nāmah* therefore could not have been dictated to him.

[2] i.e. one who reads Persian.

[3] Buruskhān (or Parskhān) is the Barsinjān or Bam-sinjān, son of Yazdagird (the last Sāsānid monarch of Persia), of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, Raverty's translation, p. 70.

hospitality (f. 227a) and every day guests used to come to his house. One day some guests arrived, and among them there was an old soothsayer. At that time, I was sitting in a corner of the tent with other children. When the old man saw me he called me to his presence, looked at the palm of my hand, and said: "How many wonders shall pass over this child! He shall attain to sovereignty and his progeny shall be kings." I took these words to heart, and all that has befallen me since reminds me of the saying of that old man. It so happened that the same week, a tribe of the Turks called Bakhtiyân carried out a raid on our clan while my father was out a-hunting. They plundered our cottage and carried me away as a slave. I was 12 years old at that time. The land of the Bakhtiyâns was a long way off from our place and hence it was not possible for my father to come in quest of me. I was taken to the tribe of the Bakhtiyâns. They were idol-worshippers and had, in the plain, carved out a stone in human form which they said had grown of itself on the spot. They used to prostrate themselves before this stone at all times, and it was a place of pilgrimage for them. They had set me to tend their sheep, and I used to remain in the plain where I passed that idol every day. God put it into my heart that those Bakhtiyâns were a miserable people who prostrated themselves every day before a stone. One day I said to myself that I should offend against that idol in order to see if I was punished. I looked about me and finding nearby filth and droppings of animals which were sacrificed to that idol, I placed them on a piece of wood and daubed them on the face and body of that image. I came to no harm on the following day, and in fact what harm could come from inert stone? I did this every day, and my belief in the existence of God increased.

I lived for four years amongst that tribe. Then they took me and some other slaves to the towns of Transoxiana and sold us. I was purchased by a merchant of Chāch, named Ḥājī Naṣr, who brought me with his other slaves to Nakhshab

where I was taken ill. He left me in charge of an old woman, and gave her a sum of money to keep me till I should get well. I was ill for three years (f. 227b). Naṣr used to come every year to buy slaves, but as I was ill, he used to leave me. That woman gave me nothing except drugs prescribed by the physician, and I became very weak. However much I asked for bread and meat, she would not consent to give it to me. One day as I lay on my bed, I saw nearby a twisted piece of paper. I picked it up and, on unfolding it, I found that it was full of silver coins. I waited till that old woman went out. She had a son who was a good-natured young man and was friendly to me. I gave him the silver and requested him to bring some meat and curds for me. He went and bought the things, set the pot over the fire, and cooked them for me. I ate them and that very night I slept soundly. For three days that young man, without the knowledge of his mother, brought me meat and curds to eat, and I got well. Then I told the woman and she too gave me the same food, until, in the space of a month, I became so well that I attained my former health.

It was my ambition to learn the use of arms and riding, and that young man was a master of these arts. The people of Nakhshab used to bring their sons to him to learn the management of arms and rules of horsemanship. Since he had accepted me as a brother, he taught me the fine points of archery and horsemanship, and the use of the spear and the sword. That year Naṣr came again, and took me to Bukhārā, and put me at the head of his other slaves, reposing complete trust in me. My story was related to Amīr Alptigīn who was a favourite of the Sāmānid house. He demanded me from Naṣr and, as Naṣr could not possibly decline, he sold me with ten other slaves to Alptigīn, who put me at their head until I attained to the position in which you see me now. God has made me king and given me authority over His creatures. This is the story of my life.

Now my son, bear in mind, that if one day God makes

you a king like me, you should not consider it a light task to rule over His creatures. Kingship is full of perils—perils to power in this world and perils to faith in the hereafter. You should fear God; for if you fear God, His creatures will also fear you. You should be pious; for an impious ruler commands no respect (f. 228a). The first thing you should do is to keep the private and public treasuries in a prosperous condition; for a kingdom can only be retained by wealth. If you do not possess money, gold, or wealth, nobody will obey you. Wealth cannot be acquired except by good government and wise statesmanship, and good government cannot be achieved except through justice and righteousness. Try hard to make all people your well-wishers, and win their hearts by kindness and generosity. No person will ever obey another one like himself, except when he is in want and you provide for him. You should have a lofty ambition; for ambition is like fire which seeks height; and pleasure and merry-making, lust and lewdness, are of the nature of dust which inclines to the ground.

Money should be accumulated only in a creditable manner. I do not advise you to extort money from your subjects; for whoever does so (finds that) that money soon becomes his bane. The subjects are to a king like his treasury; when the treasury is empty of what use is kingship? At the same time I do not advise you to be lenient so as not to demand your legitimate dues from your subjects. You should not leave unrecovered from any living being what is enjoined by God, but should realize all such dues in a gentle manner and assign them to the items of expenditure which God and His Prophet (peace be upon Him!) have commanded.

Where the use of sword is called for, you should not exercise the whip; and where the whip would serve the purpose, you should not strike with the sword. Do not be unmindful of those who have been revenue collectors ('Amils) *for several* years. They will spend the money which they have been saving for years to influence the governors and your servants,

so that you may renew their appointment. Hence it is necessary that you should keep yourself acquainted with the condition of every revenue collector who has been in a village, town, or city, for two or three years, and get his accounts checked. If it is proved that he has extorted anything from a person unfairly, recover it from him, and having chastised him send him back to his post so that if he is wise he may learn by that one experience and cease to be dishonest. If he proves dishonest again, you should dismiss him.

It is most important that you should keep yourself well-informed about the condition of the army, their pay and daily allowances. Their condition should be as well known to you as the recitation of *Qul huwa'llah* every day. They should be so willing and obedient that if in times of need you issue the command (f. 228*b*) in the morning, they should be ready with their arms and equipments by breakfast time.

Treat those men well who are capable and smart, and do not keep near yourself those who are slothful and lacking in nerve for heroic actions. Do not say that so and so is the son of such and such, and do not waste God's money (that is, public money) for the sake of one's father, and give the rightful dues to the deserving. For instance, if a person has landed property and he dies leaving an undeserving son, or if a person is rich and does not stand in need of a grant of land from the Sultan, while there are many other needy persons, then you will be wasting God's riches if you bestow property on that undeserving son for the sake of the soul of his departed father. Bestow wealth on him who does something for the benefit of your kingdom, and keeps the highways safe ; and always keep this in mind.

If, God forbid, the merchandise of a trader be plundered on the way, you should consider as though your own treasury had been robbed, and exert all your efforts to have the highwayman apprehended and punished in accordance with the divine law, and the merchandise recovered from him, failing which you should recompense the merchant from

your private property, otherwise know that God will call you to account for it on the Day of Reckoning.

You should be generous and merciful. Your forgiveness should exceed your wrath, so that people may be drawn towards you. You should not, however, be forgiving in two offences: firstly, in the case of one who seeks to be your rival in kingship, and secondly, in the case of one who despoils the property of Muslims. You should not leave these two classes of offenders alive. With regard to other offenders, you should punish or pardon them according to the nature of their guilt. You should be charitable and generous but not wasteful and extravagant.

You should not allow boastful people and braggarts into your presence and should not pay heed to their words; for it is mostly through flippant and light-hearted companions that a king's secrets leak out and enemies come to know of confidential matters of State, and this results in great evils.

You should define everybody's particular duties; for God has created special attributes and characteristics in every person. You should recognize this distinction carefully, because a groom cannot carry out the work of a wazīr, even if he were to have the requisite equipment. Never make a mistake in this matter, and do not entrust one man's work to another. If the carpet-spreader is absent for ten days, do not order the wine-keeper to spread the carpet. Tell a member of his family to do that work; for it is due to such intentional mistakes that disturbance is caused in kingdoms. You should distinguish between your friends and foes (f. 229a). It requires perfect intelligence and complete knowledge to comprehend human nature. This object can be achieved only by trial, in the same way as you can understand the character of persons when meting out rewards and punishments to them. Know that the greatest enemies of a king are despotism and self-will. In every matter you should take the advice of devoted persons of

tested friendliness and then decide it in accordance with your own judgment. You should be kind and courteous to those of your enemies who are your equals in rank, but if they over-top you, then the only remedy left to you is an appeal to the sword. You should engage in wars and battles only after long deliberation; for war is like trade which either succeeds or fails. Hence prior to the commencement of hostilities, you should weigh the matter carefully, and if an amicable settlement is possible, you should not incline to war, except in the case of war against infidels.

Your worst enemies are those who have lost their kingdom; for in their heart, they will never be your friends even if you were not the cause of the downfall of their kingdom. They will feel envious when they see the kingdom in your hands. You should be alert and vigilant with them, and should always keep them downhearted. You should hide your secrets from such people. Know that it sometimes happens that a friend turns an enemy, but an enemy will never become a friend. You should befriend your relatives and kinsmen, and be gracious to the young and respectful to the elders, but you should not tolerate anyone who covets your kingdom. You should keep him depressed and downtrodden, and as long as custody and imprisonment are sufficient, you should refrain from the use of the sword; but if you find that imprisonment is of no avail, then you are excused (if you use the sword).

You should always keep spies to bring you news of foreign kingdoms and armies and of distant cities. In your own kingdom and cities, you should keep honest *Barīds* (couriers or news-writers) so that they may keep you acquainted with the condition of the people, and of the justice and righteousness of your *'Āmils*. Every night before you have said your night prayer, you should have obtained detailed information about your country, so that your affairs should prosper. You should know the revenue and expenditure of your kingdom, and should not be negligent of your secretaries and

wazirs; for sometimes the secretaries become dishonest, make common cause with the *'Āmils*, and embezzle public money. You should pull in their reins from time to time. You should remember all that I have said to you and engrave it on your heart so that you may be among the fortunate ones.

This is my counsel and injunction to you, (by offering which) I have removed the responsibility from off my shoulders. AND GOD IS THE BEST KNOWER AND JUDGE.

134.

Some Developments in the use of Latin Character for the Writing of Kurdish

BY C. J. EDMONDS

IN the *JRAS.* of January, 1931, I offered some "Suggestions for the Use of Latin Character in the Writing of Kurdish". A certain number of changes in these first proposals subsequently appeared desirable in the light of criticism and of further experiment and experience. In the meantime Tewfiq Wehbi Beg, on whose modified Arabic alphabet my suggestions had been based, finding that his new system made little appeal to his compatriots, decided to abandon it, for the purposes of his future work, in favour of Latin. European students of Iranian philology will welcome the appearance in Latin character of the work of an accomplished native Kurdish scholar; how far the books now in the press and under preparation will appeal to other Kurds remains to be seen.

The following modifications of the first system have recommended themselves :—

(1) The distinction between *d* and *dh*, *t* and *th*, described as being restricted to part of the Sulaimani *liwa* only, has been abandoned, with a view to making the system as widely acceptable as possible.

(2) The preservation of the distinction between the two *h*'s for the sake of three or four native Kurdish words (only the sophisticated mark the distinction in Arabic borrowings) appeared hardly justified, and has been abandoned.

(3) The letter *x* is thus released to replace *kh*.

(4) The adoption of the letter *j* with the German value proved most unpopular not only with English but also with Kurdish critics; the difficulty has been met by using *y* both with its English consonantal value and also for pure short *i*, a comparatively rare sound in Kurdish.

(5) The letter i now represents the neutral vowel (except as provided by rules (8) and (13) below); to use a letter with a diacritical mark would have been out of the question owing to the high frequency of this sound.

(6) The letter *j* is thus released for use with its Turkish, i.e. the French, value; this may be distasteful to English readers but is liked by Kurds.

(7) The sound for which the rather clumsy digraph *uy* was first suggested is now represented by ö, and since the sound is rare little violence is done to the principle of avoiding diacritical marks; it is not spoken alike by all Kurds; the majority seem to pronounce it like French *ué*, but with the two vowel sounds run more together; it is not *wé*.

(8) Long i is now written *iy* (instead of ii) except after a vowel when it is written *yi*; since the combination of the neutral vowel and pure short *i* must form long *i* (see rule (*e*) at p. 34 of the "Suggestions") no difficulty arises; thus: *bi-xo* "eat!" makes *biy xo*, i.e. *biy xo* "eat it!"

(9) Similarly long *u* is now written *uw* instead of *uu*; after a vowel it is *wu*.

(10) Hemze is no longer represented since it appears, except as the initial soft breathing, in no native Kurdish words, and in Arabic borrowings merely has the effect of lengthening the adjacent vowel. Vowels found in juxtaposition are pronounced separately.

(11) Similarly ' for *'ain* is no longer considered as a letter of the alphabet; it is detected as an initial sound in a very few native Kurdish words; in Arabic borrowings it generally, like hemze, lengthens the adjacent vowel, and sometimes, at the beginning of a word, aspirates it: thus عباس makes Hebbas, عمر makes Homer: in his recent work کرد و کردستان (Dar-ul-Islam Press, Baghdad, 1931) Amin Zaki Bey, recently Minister of Economics and Communications in the Iraqi Cabinet, who seldom spells Arabic words otherwise than in the correct Arabic way, writes on

p. 2 موکلا for مطالعه; where it is desired to represent the ع in a borrowed word the symbol ʻ can nevertheless be used unobjectionably.

(12) In consequence of (10) the apostrophe becomes available for its natural function of representing an elided vowel: *l'êrewe* for *le êrewe* "from here".

(13) Since a syllable cannot begin with the neutral vowel, initial pure short *i* is written *i* and not *y*.

These modifications, which all arise out of the abandonment of the superfluous symbols *dh*, *th*, *x* (for ح), ʻ and ʼ (for hemze), and the adoption of *i* for the neutral vowel, have been achieved without violence to the fundamental principles (1) that diacritical marks must be reduced to a minimum, and (2) that the system must be adequate to reproduce the nicest subtleties of Kurdish grammar.

A restatement of the five rules given in the "Suggestions" (p. 34 of the JOURNAL, January, 1931) now becomes necessary.

(*a*) This rule must be worded as follows: "The vowel *u*, if brought into juxtaposition with another vowel, is changed into *w*, e.g. *kewti-bu* "he had fallen", makes the subjunctive *kewti-bw-aye*; other vowels in juxtaposition are pronounced separately.[1]

(*b*) This rule holds *mutatis mutandis* and might read: The combination *iyy* is not possible and is shortened to *iy*, the suppressed letter being represented by apostrophe; thus, *tanciy* "gazelle-hound" makes *tanci'yan* "their gazelle-hound", not *tanciyyan*, and *tanciy' Puwsho* "Pûsho's hound", not *tanciy y Puwsho*.

(*c*) The rule holds *mutatis mutandis*, but further experience has suggested that the fall of the accent in some measure limits freedom in the dropping of the neutral vowel; e.g. *leshkir* "army" makes *leshkreke* "the army"

[1] Such juxtaposition occurs as a result of dropping the symbol for hemze in pure Kurdish words only when the present tense particle *de-* is prefixed to a verb beginning with a vowel.

(since the definite article *-eke* takes the accent), but *leshkirêk* "an army" (since the indefinite article *êk* does not take the accent).

(*d*) With the dropping of the hemze the need for this statement disappears: A word like *serêshe* "headache" is simply written as one word; a new convention regarding the preposition *e*, "to" is referred to below.

(*e*) The new orthography represents this change of sound automatically and no statement of rule is necessary (see modification No. 8 above).

The alphabet now being used by the leading native Kurdish philologist thus contains thirty-three letters (instead of the thirty-eight of the original "Suggestions"); these are the ordinary twenty-six letters, with two vowels having diacritical marks *ê* and *ö*, and five digraph consonants, *ch*, *gh*, *lh*, *rh*, *sh*.

TABLE

a always long as in father.
b as in English.
c with Turkish value, English *j*.
ch as in English church.
d as in English.
e short *a* as in English bat.
ê the open sound, not the diphthong which is *ey*.
f as in English.
g as in English.
gh as in Arabic *ghain*
h as in English.
i the neutral vowel
j with Turkish value, French *j*.
k as in English.
l as in English
lh velar *l*
m as in English.
n as in English.
o always long.
ö like French *u*.
p as in English.

q guttural *k*.
r as in English.
rh rolled *r*.
s always sibilant.
sh as in English.
t as in English.
u always short.
v as in English.
w bilabial.
x as Arabic خ.
y consonant as in English and also short pure *i*.
z as in English.

The following examples are appended to illustrate the modified system :—

I. "The Adventure of the Goat-herd," with translation.

II. Kurdish translation of an extract from the Simon report.

No. II is something of a *tour de force* done for me by a group of Kurdish friends. The intention of the inclusion of this is to suggest that the Kurdish language is so rich as to be capable of expressing any normal conception of the European mind almost without recourse to borrowing.

For greater clearness the izafe *y*, the preposition *e* "to" (with its compounds *enaw* "into the middle of", *eser* "to the top of", etc., which are easily recognizable in that they are not followed by izafe), and the conjunction *u* "and" (except in compounds) are written separately; they must, however, be pronounced in liaison with the preceding word. Kurdish is particularly rich in compounds in every part of speech, and it is not always easy to judge how far the component parts should be written together or separately, or how far the aid of hyphens should be resorted to. In the examples I have endeavoured to follow consistently a set of experimental conventional rules, but it would be premature to state them at this stage.

EXAMPLE I

Beser Hat y Xawensabrên

Piyawêk y ladêyi buw; sabrênêky hebu: zory xosh dewyst; herchiy xwardinêk y chaky des bikewtaye, derxward y ewy deda. Jinekey leser eme rhiqy lêy helh sa we êwarêyêk legelh sabrênekey, l'em dê bo ew dê, dery kirdin. Kabra rhêy lê helhe buw: her derhoyi w nedegeyisht e dêyêk. Sabrênekey leber birsêtiy w manduwiy desy kird be harhjin. Kabra dilhy pêy suwta we be giryanewe desy kird e mily, we wuty: "Xozge bimirdmaye w tom wa nediyaye."

L'ew demeda le nziykewe deng y segwerhêk hat; eme dêyê bu; rhuwy tê kird. Ke geyisht, chuw e berdem y malh y koxa: le dergay da. Jin y köxa hat episht dergake we pirsiy: "Ewe kêye?" Kabra pêy wut: "Biy kerewe, miywanim." Jine lêy gêrhayewe: "Köxa le ashe; derga nakemewe." Kabra göy neda yê: sabrênekey xist eser shany w be serbanda ser kewt we chuw e xwarewe; legelh sabrênekeyda chuwn e kayênekewe.

Buw be niywehew; le dergayan da; köxajin chuw, kirdyewe. Xawensabrên chawy pê kewt ke ewa köxajin legelh kabrayêkda des lemil yek, be machu muwch gerhanewe w chuwn e juwrewe. Lepash nextêk le derga drayewe. Xawensabrên temashay kird ke ew kabraye y legelh jine bu hat, xoy kuta ye kayênekewe. Köxajinysh chuw, dergay kirdewe we diysanewe legelh kabrayêk y tazehatuw be machu muwch gerhayewe, we chuwn e juwrewe.

Hemdiysan le derga drayewe; kabra y duwemysh xoy kuta ye kayênekewe. Xawensabrên rhuwy tê kirdin: "Bragel, pê nenên we sabrênekema." Kabrakan, ke em dengeyan byst le tariykayiyekeda. pêyda helh shaxiyn: "Wis, deng meke."

Jine chuwbu be deng y dergawe; tumez eme mêrdekey bu ke le ash anl y alêstay des kewtibu, legelh genimekeyda gorhiybuyewe w be pêchewane y biywa y köxajin zuw gerhabwewe. Jine dergakey lê kirdewe, we pêkewe hatin e hewshê. L'ewêwe köxa piyawekey, ke leber derga westabu,

we nawy Cherkesiy bu, bang kird: "Cherkesiy!" Xawensabrên le kayênekewe qiyrandy: "Sê kes u sabrênêkyn." Köxa l'em denge sery suwrh ma; diysanewe bangy kird: "Cherkesiy!" we göy girt. Xawensabrên be mirqe mirq hawary kird: "Sê kes u sabrênêkyn; eyhawar! kushtyanim." Duw kabrake y dyke desyan kirdibu be siyxurme têwejandiny, belham, ke zaniyan ewa köxa berew kayên d'êt, boy der chun. Köxa chuw e juwrewe; xawensabrêny be diz zaniy w desy kird be tê helhdany we lêy helh kêsha ye xencer ke biy kujêt. Kabra y tayen, ke chawy be xencer kewt, sabrênu mabrêny becê hêsht u der perhiy w rhuwy kird e dêyêk y dyke.

Weku cardy le derga y malh y köxay da. Köxajin pirsiy "Ewe kêye?" Xawensabrên wuty: "Miywanim, biy kerewe." Köxajin wuty: "Köxa le ashe; nay kemewe." Kabra y xawensabrên weku car y pêshuw göy neda yê we be serbanda chuw e xwarewe w l'ewêwe bonaw kayêneke.

Le prhêka le derga dra. Xawensabrên dilhy da xurpa; wuty: "Hemysan tê helhdan nebêt?" Köxajin dergakey kirdewe w babayêky kird e juwrewe. Kayêneke beramber be hodew heywaneke bu; xawensabrên l'ewêwe chawy lê bu ke jineke kabray le hodeke da na, xoy hat e derewe; le heywaneke agirêky kirdewe, taweyêky xist eser, shtêky lê na w day girt ke sard bêtewe; we chuwewe juwrê. Xawensabrên y le birsda mirduw helh sa, be penapena chuw eser taweke; gezow rhony têda bu; desy kird be xwardiny. Ke be layen y xoyda wurd bwewe le heywanekeda beranêk y dabestrawy diy. Chuw, beranekey kirdewe w hênay, ewe y lebery mabwewe suwy le demu lmoz u sim y beraneke. Beranysh ney kird e namerdiy; le nakawda qochêky le pishtewe lê da, lepew rhuw frhêy da yenaw derk y juwrekewe. Xawensabrên hawarêky kird: "Eyhawar! Bawke rho! Pishtim shka." Kabra w köxajin l'em denge rha perhiyn we pirsiyan: "To kêyt, krambawgaw?" we pelamaryan da yê w desyan kird be tê helhdany. Duwbare le derga dra. Be herduwkyan xawensabrênyan helh girt u xistyan e

kenduweke y ardewe; we jine'sh kabrakey na yenaw tenguwrekewe w pneyêky xist eser, we chuw dergakey kirdewe.

Tumez em köxaye'sh ard y alêstay des kewtibu, genimekey pê gorhiybwewe w be bedbextiy' köxajin xêra gerhabwewe. Köxa be barashewe hat e juwrê, we be jiney wut: "Ard y nawhorheke biker e kenduwekewe." Jine wuty: "Pele pely chiye? Beyaniy." Köxa pêy lê da girt, wuty: "Her debêt êsta horheke betalh keyt." Jine her xoy lê la deda; köxa pelamar y horhy da, birdy eser kenduw y xawensabrên, we desy kird be ard rhjandin e nawyewe. Hêshta horheke niywey mabu, kenduw pirh buw. Köxa pirsiy: "Afret, xo to wutit ardman nemawe?" Jine y zerd helhgerhaw wuty: "Lepash to biyrim kewtewe ke ardman mawe."

Köxa neqiyzeyêky girt be desewe we peyta peyta kirdy be kenduwekeda ke ardeke chak bichêt e xwarewe. Em neqiyzane dekewtin le seru gölak y xawensabrên, ke le tawana xoy rha piskand, kenduwy kird be duw kertewe w der perhiy. Köxa, ke chawy b'em kabra ardawiye w seru chaw xonawiye kewt, be cnokey zaniy, da chlhekiy we hawary kird: "Naw y Xwa! A! Afret, ew tfengem bo b'êne."

Xawensabrên y zaretrek desy kird be lalhanewe: "Boch dem kujyt? Min her gezow rhonekem xwardibu: sza y xom diy; belham herchiy kirdy Agha y nawtenguwr kirdy; emca nore y ew bêt." Kabra y nawtenduwr, ke emey byst, der perhiy e derewe: xeriyk bu boy der chê, köxa qiyrh girty. Be Xwa, legelh koxada kewtn e seru gölhak y yektiry. L'em helhkewteda xawensabrên perhiy e serban; l'ewê temashay kird ke leshy be dwayda nayêt; wuty: "Xo, emane minyan kusht; ba tolheyan lê bikemewe."

Gerha bo berdê, pêyanda bikêshêt; kurtanêky le serbaneke doziyewe; xisty eser sery we hat eqeragh serbaneke ke biy kêshêt beser herduw kabrada ke le hewshê le yek ber buwbun. Ney zaniy ke qushqun y kurtaneke kewtuwet episht mily; hêzy dą ye xoy ke biy da be seryanda; qushqun ewyshy rhapêch kird; kabra girmha be xoy u kurtanewe

kewt e xwarewe ; nqeyêky lê'we der hat : " Bawke rho ! Psam."

Sherhkerekan desyan l'êk ber bu, we kabra y dosteyan boy der chu. Köxa emca pelamar y xawensabrêny da w desy kird be tê helhdany. Xawensabrên wuty : " Besye ; mem kuje ; rhastiyeket pê bêjim." Köxa desy lê ber da ; xawensabrênysh ew shewe chiy' beser hatibu boy gêrhayewe. Leser eme köxa jinekey der kird we kerêk u tuwrekeyê ardy da be xawensabrên we nardyewe dêyeke y xoy.

Minysh hatmewe w hychyan nedam ê.

TRANSLATION

The Adventure of the Goatherd

There was a villager : he had a billy-goat ; he was very fond (of it) ; whatever good food came to hand he used to give it to it to eat. His wife thereupon got annoyed and one evening turned them, him with his billy-goat, right out of the village. The fellow lost his way ; he kept going on and not arriving at any village. His billy-goat began to whimper with hunger and fatigue. The fellow's heart burned for it and he tearfully put his arms round its neck and said : " Would that I might die and not see thee thus."

At that moment there came a sound of barking from nearby ; this was a village ; he turned towards (it). When he arrived he went to the front of the headman's house ; he knocked on the door. The headman's wife came to behind the door and asked : " Who is that ? " The fellow said to (her) : " Open it, I am a guest." The woman answered (him) : " The headman is at the mill ; I shall not open the door." The fellow did not listen to (her) ; he hoisted the billy-goat on his shoulder and climbed up on the roof and went down ; they went, he with the billy-goat, to the straw-store.

Midnight came ; someone knocked on the door ; the headman's wife went and opened (it). The goat-herd saw that, lo, the headman's wife and a fellow came back, arms round

each other's necks, kissing and bussing, and went into the room. After a little there was a knock on the door. The goat-herd saw that that fellow who was with the woman came and thrust himself into the straw-store. The headman's wife also went, opened the door, and again came back with a new-comer, kissing and bussing, and they went into the room.

Yet again there was a knock on the door; the second fellow also thrust himself into the straw-store. The goat-herd turned towards them: "Don't tread atop o' my billy-goat, mates." The fellows, when they heard this sound in the darkness, scolded him: "Sh-sh, don't make a noise."

The woman had gone to investigate the noise at the door; but this was her husband, who had found flour ready at the mill, had exchanged (it) for his wheat and returned early, contrary to the expectation of the headman's wife. The woman opened the door to (him) and together they came into the courtyard. From there the headman called his man who was standing in front of the door and whose name was Homany: "Homany!" The goat-herd bawled from the straw-store: "We are three men and a billy-goat!" The headman was astonished at this sound; again he called: "Homany!" and listened. The goat-herd yelled plaintively: "We are three men and a billy-goat. . . . Help! They have killed me." The two other fellows had begun to punch him, but when they realized that, lo, the headman is coming towards the straw-store they decamped. The headman went into the room; he took the goat-herd for a thief and began to thrash him, and threatened him with a dagger, to kill him. The poor fellow, when he saw the dagger, abandoned billy-goat and all and fled and made towards another village.

Like last time he knocked at the door of the headman. The headman's wife asked: "Who is that?" The goat-herd said: "I am a guest, open it." The headman's wife said: "The headman is at the mill; I shall not open it." The goat-herd fellow, as the time before, did not listen to (her)

and by the roof went down and from there inside the straw-store.

At once there was a knock on the door; the goat-herd's heart beat fast; he said: "I hope there will be no thrashing again." The headman's wife opened the door and let an individual into her room. The straw-store was opposite the room with the verandah; from there the goat-herd could see that the woman put the man in the room and herself came outside; she made a fire on the verandah, put on a frying-pan, cooked something and took it off to cool; and she went into the room. The famished goat-herd got up and went stealthily up to the frying-pan; it had manna and butter-sauce in it; he began to eat it. When he had taken in what was around him he saw a ram tied up on the verandah. He went and untied the ram and proceeded to wipe his leavings over the muzzle and feet of the ram. The ram did not fail to play the man. Unexpectedly he gave him a butt behind and threw him sprawling into the doorway of the room. The goat-herd gave a yell: "Help! · Mercy on an orphan! My back is broken." The fellow and the headman's wife started at this sound and asked: "Who are you, son of sin?" And they attacked (him) and began to thrash him. A second time there was a knock on the door. The two of them picked up the goat-herd and put him into the flour-jar; and the woman too put the fellow into the oven and set the pastry-board on top, and went and opened the door.

But this headman too had found ready-milled flour, had exchanged the wheat for (it) and, unfortunately for the headman's wife, had come back quickly. The headman came into the room with the mill-load and said to the wife: "Put the sackful of flour into the jar." The wife said: "What's the hurry? To-morrow." The headman insisted and said: "All the same you must empty the sack now." The wife kept trying to avoid it; the headman rushed at the sack, carried it on to the goat-herd's jar, and began to pour flour into it. Half the sack was still left when the jar was

full. The headman asked: "Woman, you said, didn't you, that we had no flour left." The wife, coming over all pale, said: "After you (had gone) I remembered that we had some flour left."

The headman took up a goad and pushed it into the jar so that the flour should go well down. These prods kept coming down on the goat-herd's cranium so that in consequence he struggled with his elbows, broke the jar in two pieces, and jumped out. The headman, when he saw this fellow all covered with flour and with his head bleeding, took (him) for a demon, started up and yelled: "'S truth! Ho! Woman! bring me that gun."

The terrified goat-herd began to implore: "Why will you kill me? I had only eaten the manna and butter-sauce; I have had my punishment; whatever anyone has done the gent in the oven did; so let it be his turn." The fellow in the oven, when he heard this, jumped out; he was about to decamp, the headman gripped him. Then, by God, he and the headman fell to scragging each other. At this juncture the goat-herd fled to the roof; there he saw that he can hardly drag himself along; he said: "Well, they knocked me about; let me have my revenge on them."

He looked about for a stone to throw at them; he found a pack-saddle on the roof; he put (it) on his head and came to the edge of the roof to throw it at the two fellows who had set about each other in the court-yard. He did not know that the crupper of the pack-saddle has fallen behind his neck; he braced himself to throw it on to their heads; the crupper dragged him along, too; the fellow bumped and fell down below, (himself), pack-saddle, and all; a gasp escaped from him: "Mercy on an orphan! I'm bust."

The combatants broke apart and the lover fellow decamped. Then the headman rushed at the goat-herd and began to thrash him. The goat-herd said: "That's enough; don't kill me. Let me tell you the truth." The headman took his hands off him; the goat-herd, too, that night related

to (him) what had happened to him. Thereupon the headman expelled (his) wife and gave the goat-herd a donkey and a bag of flour and sent (him) back to his own village.

I too have come back and they gave me nothing.

EXAMPLE II

Kurdish Translation of an extract from the Simon Report

15. Komelhe gewre y nawcheyi' Asiya, bo la y rhojawa, b'ew diyw Uralekan-da, ew kerte kyshwerey frhê dawe ke pêy delhêyn Ewruwpa, we bo la y niywe rho, b'ew diyw qorte here berzeke y Hymalaye-yshda, ew kerte kyshwerey frhê dawe ke pêy delhêyn Hyndistan. Gelê rheg y cöcheshn, ke hemuw le yek rhechelhak y Ariy buwn we ke, rhenge, le serdemêk y zor konda her le nawcheyêkewe kochyan kirdibêt, xoyan l'em duw kerte kyshwereda da mezranduwe. Cêga y hatinyan, we besh y têkelhawi'yan legelh rhegekan y tir we legelh rhege kontrekan, babet y gumane, we zor qse helh degrêt. Herchy Hyndistane, l'ewêda, her chonê bê, weku le dwayida hel y lêy dwanman des dekewêt, jmareyêk y zor gewre, ke birhwa dekrêt ke wêne y danyshtuwekan y ber le Ariyekan bin, we gelêk y tir, ke le serchawe y tirewe tê rhjawin, legelh netewe y Ariye dagiyr kerekanda, be têkelhawiyê mawnetewe. Gelê sharistanêtiy heye, ke legelh hiy Hyndistan le koniyda hawtan, we ke be tewawiy beser chuwn; belham le zor y Hyndistan-da temashayêk y negorhaw bo jiyan, bastanêk y yekbiyneyi' komelhiy, we feylesuwfiyêk y taybetiy' payedar heye. Yasayi' Hynduw êstaysh firmanber y l'êk danewe y nawerok y Vêdakane. Ew cheshne pezyshkiyane, ke legelh Hyppokrates-da hawdem buwn, êsta'sh bekar hên u pêwe nuwsawyan heye. Legelh ew arezuwe gewreye'shda, ke Hyndistan y siyasiy pêyewe biyre bawekan y dewlhetgêrhiy des lemil dekat, terze kon y komelhiy' Hynduwayetiy, ke, her le Bramen-ewe biy gre heta dêt eser Glhawekan, têkelhawiyêk y chiynchiyn y hozêk y bêjmarey da hênawe, ke beser jiyan u biyr y le duw sed milwên ptir y danyshtuwekan y sê sed u biyst milwêniy' Hyndistan-da be rhiq we deselhatêk

y ewtowe le malhiyda payedare, ke le gêtiy' rhojawada be xew nebiyrarawe.

Original English

The central mass of Asia throws out to the west, beyond the Urals, the sub-continent which we call Europe, and to the south, beyond the higher barrier of the Himalayas, the sub-continent which we call India. Various races of the same Aryan stock, presumably migrating from some common centre in distant ages, have established themselves in both these sub-continents. Whence they came, and what proportions they bear to other and earlier races, are matters of doubt and controversy. In the case of India, at any rate, there remain intermingled with the descendants of Aryan invaders, as we shall have occasion to point out later on, very large numbers who are believed to represent pre-Aryan inhabitants, as well as considerable infiltrations from other sources. There are civilizations of equal antiquity with that of India which have passed completely away; but in much of India there is an unchanged outlook on life, a continuing social tradition, and a characteristic philosophy that endures. Hindu orthodoxy is still governed by interpretations of the contents of the Vedas. Systems of medicine which are coeval with Hippocrates still have their exponents and their adherents. In spite of the eagerness with which political India is embracing modern ideas of government, the ancient social system of Hinduism, which has evolved a rigid complication of innumerable castes, from the Brahmin at the top to the pariah at the bottom, continues to control the lives and thoughts of more than two hundred out of the three hundred and twenty millions of the population of India with a persistence and authority undreamed of in the Western world.

Remarks on the Romanized Kurdish Alphabet

By V. Minorsky

MR. C. J. EDMONDS'S "Suggestions for the use of Latin characters in the writing of Kurdish" merit the attention of all those interested practically and theoretically in Kurdish, for no one probably has had better opportunities for studying the practical side of the question than Mr. Edmonds in his surrounding of Kurdish intelligentsia.

The inconvenient side of all Semitic alphabets is their disregard of vowels (not only short ones, but some of the long ones and the diphthongs). Those alphabets are sufficiently adapted to the languages for which they were invented and in which the consonantic frame (cf. Arabic, mostly triliteral, roots) forms the real backbone of the word of which the basic sense is more or less recognizable from the consonantic symbols.

This system is entirely unsuitable for languages with a developed vocalic system where vowels are not accessories of the consonantic frame but integral parts of the stem. In Kurdish *dār* "tree" and *dūr* "far" have nothing to do with each other in spite of their similar consonantic frame (*d.r*). Here the vowels make all the difference of the basic meaning, whereas the vocalic system itself is considerably complicated by the existence of *ē*, *ō* (> *üē*) which the Arabs in their own terminology call *majhūl*, i.e. "unknown" to themselves.

The Arabic script has been occasionally used for writing many different languages (Albanian, Turkish, Malay, numerous Caucasian, African, and Indian idioms and occasionally even Spanish and Serbian), but whenever the considerations of direct convenience of the writing were no more obscured by any reflexions of political and religious order, phonetic alphabets have triumphed all along the line.[1]

[1] We leave for the moment out of the question such languages with developed literatures closely associated with Muslim (Arabic) culture, as Persian, for instance.

Nothing can be said against the special phonetic alphabets of long standing, such as Greek, Russian, Armenian, Georgian, well adapted to their object, but as the Latin script is the most widespread in the world and has reached the highest technical perfection in its printed form (artistic consistency of the outer form of the whole scale of signs, lack of confusion in characters, existence of different varieties of type), only Latin script comes into question when a new form of phonetic script is under consideration for a language just acquiring a literary importance.

For the success of the reform in Kurdish it is essential that the Latin alphabet should be utilized in its most simple form with as few additions of conventional signs as possible. In this respect Mr. Edmonds's effort to remain within the possibilities of the ordinary type seems quite comprehensible and well founded. The Kurdish alphabet as a practical instrument need not aim at an absolutely rigorous application of the principles: "Each sound to have a single and non-compound sign, each sound to be pronounced only in one way." For example, there is no practical inconvenience of writing *sh* (ش) instead of the Czecho-Slovakian *š* (whatever its well-known scientific convenience in connection with the other special signs), or the Turkish *ş* (borrowed obviously from Rumanian).

I should formulate the principles underlying Mr. Edmonds's scheme as follows:

(1) Avoidance of any unusual signs which would embarrass the Kurdish presses.

(2) Use of double signs for "long" vowels [only in Mr. Edmonds's first article !].

(3) Use of *h* after some consonants to connote some aberrant use of these characters.

(4) To these points I should add the desideratum of the slightest possible variance from the established use of the original Latin script. All alphabets are conventional and even if instead of *a*, *b*, *c* we write respectively *k*, *l*, *m* (as in

some unsophisticated schoolboys' cipher) it can be learnt after some practice, yet any queer functions of the familiar signs are apt to mislead the Kurds in the scientific study of their language in comparison with the other Iranian languages. In this respect the new Turkish alphabet, which gives a practical solution for local use, is certainly inconvenient for comparative purposes, such words as *gelecek* necessitating their retranscription into *gelejek*, etc. It is likewise undesirable to introduce new peculiar spellings for the words belonging to international scientific vocabulary.

The following are my more detailed observations on, and suggestions in regard to, the systems proposed by Mr. Edmonds in his two articles which hereafter will be respectively referred to as E 1 and E 2.

As regards the "long" vowels their exact duration as compared to that of the "short" ones may need some further investigation, but there is no doubt that the respective sounds of the two classes—*ā*, *ī*, *ū* and *a*, *i*, *u*—are felt as distinct phonemes, and, in the case of *ā* and *a*, differ in timbre; *ē* (closed sound palatalizing the preceding consonant) has no corresponding short sound; and *o* in *dost* and *xosh* (*xwosh* ?) (though entirely of distinct origin) seems to be confused in Kurdish while the typical treatment of the original long *ō* in Kurdish is the diphthong *ü̯ē* (with palatalization of the preceding consonant), e.g. *k'ü̯ēr* (< *kōr*) "blind", *g'ü̯ēz* < *gōz* "nut". There is consequently no practical need for introducing a distinction of *ō* and *o* but the sign *ö* (E 2) will be quite welcome as a comparatively simple conventional expression for *ü̯ē*, and find its justification in the etymological origin of this sound (from *ō*).

Following the principle of reduplication of the characters in order to express the length of a vowel, I should write *aa* for Kurdish long *ā* and leave simple *a* for its corresponding short sound. Such a system is one of the practical characteristics of the Dutch script. As a matter of fact, short Kurdish *a* sounds like *ä* (cf. English "man"), or even

as a real short *ă*, while with the use of *e* (E 1 and E 2) we are distinctly drifting to a different class of sounds. The proposed use of *aa* and *a* will allow us to restrict the use of *e* to the real *e* (see above). This unique *e* will be written without any diacritical sign (as against E 1 and E 2: *ê*), just as in Sanskrit transcriptions *e* stands exclusively for a long *ē*.

The signs *ii* and *i* are quite natural, but there exists in Kurdish a characteristic sound of an extra-short *i* perfectly distinguishable on account of its dull timbre. It somewhat reminds one of Russian ы (Polish *y*) and Turkish ı (ĭ) in *aldı* (الدى), but is a furtive intermediate sound which for an untrained English ear would perhaps resemble the vowel in "but". In E 1 and E 2 it is conveniently expressed by *y* (cf. Polish *y*!), but it would be very desirable to reserve to *y* the obvious function of ى (English and French *y*). One could think then of the new Turkish ı (without dot), but even the Turks admit now that this sign is conducive to confusion and seem disposed to replace it by *ĭ*. As we have obtained the elimination of one character with diacritic sign (*ê*) by a simple one, we could afford to introduce in the present case ĭ[1], but perhaps it would be more advantageous to adopt for our case ị (with a dot underneath) which would be better distinguishable from both *ii* and *i* and in case of emergency could be easily improvised by the printers; it would suffice for them to place an ordinary *i* upside down.

I should rather not follow E 2 in transcribing *ū* by *uw* and *ī* by *iy* for the "Dutch" principle of doubling letters of the long sounds seems to me to possess all the advantages of clearness,[2] but I should admit the use of *uw*- and *iy*- in the cases when the long *ū*- and *ī*-, being followed by a vowel, phonetically become a group composed respectively of

[1] The special signs in our alphabet would consequently remain restricted to two: *ĭ* and *v*.

[2] In E 2 *y* has a threefold use for expressing consonantic *y*, short *ĭ*, and the length of *ī* (*iy*).

u + *w* or *i* + *y*. This orthographical rule would be conditioned in this special case by the phonetic modification.

Coming to the consonants I should reserve simple *j* and *c* respectively for ج and چ, in conformity with the very clearly established use (see the hallowed Sanskrit transcription) and the historical tradition of *c* which in all the systems derived from Latin stands for voiceless *k*, *č*, or *ts*. The only exception is the new Turkish alphabet, but we have mentioned its philological inadequacy for scientific purposes.

Zh and *sh* seem to be quite suitable expressions of ژ and ش logically consistent with *z* and *s* for ز and س.

The use of *h* as an auxiliary sign in *lh* and *rh* as differentiated from *l* and *r* is a happy idea already realized in Albanian script. Kurdish *lh* is a hard cerebral *ḷ* pronounced with the tip of the tongue upturned (a characteristic very distinct from Turkish and Russian hard *ḷ* (л); *rh* is the rolled *r* pronounced with the tip of the tongue (a similar distinction between *r* and *ṛ* exists in Armenian and Albanian).

As regards the harsh guttural sounds, the use of *x* for خ (as in Spanish, Greek, Russian) would be consistent with the general scientific practice. As we connote the corresponding voiced غ by *gh*, it was first suggested (E 1) to express this sound with *xh*, but as خ is frequent in Kurdish the new simplification (E 2) will be very welcome. On the other hand, Mr. Edmonds feels inclined to disregard the ح sound, occurring in Kurdish, and not only in Arabic loan-words, but also in some purely Iranian words as حوت *ḥawt* " seven ". This sound, though rare, is very characteristic of Kurdish and I should allot to it precisely the conventional *xh*, where -*h*, following our practice, will indicate an aberrant use of the original symbol *x*.

Contrary to the Turks and Persians, the Kurds very naturally pronounce ع (and prefix it even to such an

Iranian word as *asp* "horse" which in Kurdish sounds عسب). It would be helpful to express ع with an apostrophe whenever the Kurds pronounce it: *'ajbat* عجبت but there is of course no question of simply reproducing Arabic forms: if عباس and عثمان are pronounced Habbâs and Watmân they will be spelt accordingly.[1] On the contrary, there is no need to transcribe the Arabic *hamza* in the beginning and at the end of words (أنس رجاء), though in the middle of words it would be helpful to express it by a hyphen هيئت *hay-at*.

Likewise no special mark of elision seems to be necessary in such words as *lērā* < *l'ērā*, any more than in separating the locative ending *-da*, but, if so desired, the same hyphen could be used for such purposes as well.

We need not be more precise about Kurdish sounds, as time will show what particular nuances and *sandhi* phenomena will be discovered by specialists in phonetics. Under this ruling come the Sulēmânî spirants δ (ذ) and θ (ث), which can hardly be considered as real phonemes and do not represent a general phenomenon even in southern Kurdish.

It must be finally well understood that the suggested Kurdish alphabet has in view principally the convenience and development of printing. As regards the writing in Kurdish considerable simplifications will be introduced in due course: for instance, double vowels *aa*, *ii*, *uu* will be easily replaced by some signs like *ā*, ī, *ū* or *á*, í, *ú*. Many people in Europe instead of double consonants still write only one with a dash over it (as a substitute for an Arabic *tashdid*). Kurdish orthography and calligraphy will follow their own ways, while we are trying to find some practical and simple solution of the fundamental problem of the basic alphabet.

[1] In handwriting ḥ could be expressed still better by spiritus asper '.

The following is the comparative table of Kurdish sounds as figured in Mr. Edmonds's two articles and in my additional remarks :—

A. VOWELS

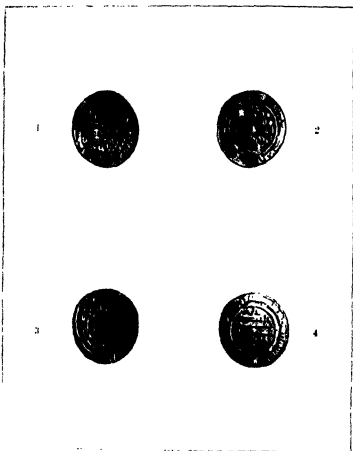
	E 1.	E 2.	M.
ā	*a*	*a*	*aa*
ă (*ä*)	*e*	*e*	*a*
ē	*ê*	*ê*	*e*
ī	*ii*	*iy*	*ii*
ĭ	*i*	*y*	*i*
ĭ (dull)	*y*	*i*	*ĭ* (or *ị*)
o	*o*	*o*	*o*
üē	*uy*	*ö*	*ö̃*
ū	*uu*	*uw*	*uu*
ŭ	*u*	*u*	*u*

B. CONSONANTS (disposed by groups)[1]

b	–	–	–
p	–	–	–
v	–	–	–
f	–	–	–
w	–	–	–
d	–	–	–
t	–	–	–
δ (ذ)	*dh*	?	?
θ (ث)	*th*	?	?
ǰ (ج)	*c*	*c*	*j*
č (چ)	*ch*	*ch*	*c*
k	–	–	–
g	–	–	–
ق	*q*	*q*	*q*
h	–	–	–

[1] — means "no change", and ? "not expressed".

غ	*gh*	*gh*	*gh*
خ	*xh*	*x*	*x*
ع	‘	?	’ or ‘
ح	*x*	?	*xh*
l	–	–	–
ḷ	*lh*	*lh*	*lh*
r	–	–	–
ṛ	*rh*	*rh*	*rh*
m	–	–	–
n	–	–	–
z	*z*	*z*	*z*
s	*s*	*s*	*s*
ž (ژ)	*zh*	*j*	*zh*
š (ش)	*sh*	*sh*	*sh*
y (ى)	*y*	*y*	*y*

P.S.—The above suggestions are based on the assumption that, for the facility of Kurdish printing, signs with diacritical points must be avoided as far as possible. On the other hand, as shown by the latest experiments in Erivan and Damascus, this practical consideration need not be overestimated. Under such conditions, a more liberal use of diacritical points would very likely represent a further convenience and simplification in Kurdish writing.—V. M.

COINS OF THE ZANJ

Paris: 1 Obverse. 2 Reverse.
London. 3 Obverse. 4 Reverse.

To face p. 651.

A Rare Coin of the Zanj

By J. WALKER

(PLATE V)

IN the British Museum there is a gold coin issued by the Zanj rebels, hitherto inedited, and consequently of sufficient historical importance to warrant special publication. There is, so far as the present writer is aware, only one other coin (also in gold) surviving as a witness of that disastrous Slave Revolt which is estimated to have cost over 1,000,000 lives. This latter coin was published by Casanova in the *Revue Numismatique* (1893, pp. 510–516) and is now in the Paris Cabinet. By kind permission of the *Conservateur* I have been enabled to have it photographed. The mint in both instances is the same, but the specimen in the British Museum is three years earlier in date, and preserves for us a more complete portion of the peculiar reverse marginal legend, that enables us to emend to a great extent the conjectural rendering suggested by Casanova in his article above mentioned.

The coin, which has been somewhat spoiled by having been mounted as a pendant, measures ·8 inches and weighs 65·5 grains. The inscriptions are as follows :—

Obverse.

Centre (in five lines).

لا اله الا | الله وحده | لا شريك له | محمد بن | امير المومنين

Inner Margin.

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر بالمدنة (*sic*) المختارة سنة احدى وستين ومائتين

Outer Margin.

إن الله اشترى من المومنين انفسهم واموالهم بأن لهم الجنة يقاتلون بسبيل الله

Reverse.

Centre (in five lines).

علی | محمد | رسول | الله | المهدی علی بن محمد

Margin.

[1] ومن لم یحکم بما أنزل [الله فأولائك هم الكا]فرون
ألا لا حکم الا لله ولا طاعة لمن [عدا] الله

Translation :—

Obverse.

Centre : "*There is no God but God Alone. He has no partner.* Muḥammad [2] the son of the Commander of the Faithful."

Inner Margin : In the name of God this dīnār was minted in Al-Madīna al-Mukhtāra in the year 261 (= A.D. 874).

Outer Margin : "*Verily God has bought from the Faithful their persons and their goods at this price, that theirs is Paradise who fight in the Path of God.*" [3]

Reverse.

Centre : 'Alī. *Muḥammad is the Apostle of God.* The Mahdī 'Alī the son of Muḥammad.

Margin : "*And whoso will not decide by what God has sent down* (i.e. by the divinely revealed **Koran**), *these are the Infidels.*" Is it not the case that there is no decision (or jurisdiction) except God's, and no obedience to (be given to) any except God ?

The first half of this marginal legend is a direct quotation from the Koran (v. 48). It is a statement that occurs three times in this same sūra, in verses 48, 49, and 51, the only difference in each case being in the final word الكافرون

[1] In the Paris specimen the legend begins at the bottom

[2] This is no doubt the father of the false Mahdi, the Zanj leader, whose own name occurs on the reverse of the coin. This is in agreement with the statement of Tabari that the rebel put his own and his father's name on his banner

[3] Koran, ix, 112

(Infidels), الظالمون (Transgressors) and الفاسقون (Perverts). Casanova was uncertain which verse of the three was actually inscribed on the coin he described, since the legend was defective at this point. The present specimen, however, decisively indicates the ending of الكافرون of verse 48.

It will be recalled that the leader of the Zanj Insurrection, 'Alī b. Muḥammad, in whose name this coin was issued, was a Persian who claimed to be a direct descendant of 'Alī and of Fāṭima, the Prophet's daughter. On the strength of this he asserted that he was the *Mahdī*, the long-awaited spiritual Guide and hope of the 'Alid party. His cause won the fanatic adherence of large gangs of black slaves, or *Zanj*, who were originally from East Africa and Zanzibar, and were at that period engaged chiefly in saltpetre extraction in the marsh lands of the lower Tigris and Euphrates. The year A.H. 255 (A.D. 869) saw the rebels begin their campaign of terror and devastation throughout the land, until in 257 Baṣra itself was captured, pillaged, and its inhabitants, regardless of age and sex, ruthlessly exterminated.

A new town was founded by the Zanj somewhat below Baṣra and given the title of "The Elect City" (*Al-Madīna al-Mukhtāra*). As the negro headquarters it remained until the 'Abbāsid Caliph's brother Al-Muwaffaḳ, after several years of warfare, finally quelled the outlaws and put an end to the city's ephemeral existence in A.H. 270. Its exact location is nowadays quite uncertain, so completely was it wiped out. The coin is, therefore, all the more valuable as a relic of its short-lived importance.

We know from Ṭabarī (III, vi. 1748–9) that on his banner the "Mahdī" flourished the Koranic verse (IX, 112) part of which, as we have seen above, also appeared on the obverse of his coins. This seems to have been a clever stroke of policy on his part, for the verse could be interpreted to his slave adherents to signify their redemption from slavery and equality with their masters, provided they took up arms

against all corrupt Moslems and uncompromising infidels. On the other hand, the verse had for long been a favourite text of the Khārijites, or "Separatists", the anti-'Alid party of primitive Islam, who professed to have sold themselves to God on the terms specified—the reward of Paradise. They had for many decades gloried in the title of Shurāt or "Sellers".[1]

It seems strange, indeed, that this self-styled descendant of 'Alī, who is even referred to in the annals as the 'Alid (العلوى), should adopt as his guiding principle a Koranic text that had been for generations the watchword of the bigoted opponents of 'Alī and his faction ever since the eventful decision of the umpires in A.H. 37. Let the Koran settle the issue, had then been the proposed basis of reconciliation. To this, after reflection, the Khawārij had advanced the non-Koranic formula, لا حكم الا لله ولا حكم للرجال "*There is no jurisdiction except God's, and no jurisdiction* (belongs) *to men*".[2] That is, let the sword of Allah bring victory to all true believers. Their intention was to overthrow the Caliphate and all idea of allegiance to princes and potentates, and to introduce an ideal theocratic state. It was a conception that, as can be imagined, found a ready acceptance among the servile and down-trodden.

Rumour had it that the "Mahdī" was secretly a Khārijite. Mas'ūdī [*Murūj al-Dhahab*, viii, p. 31] records that his atrocious acts of indiscriminate slaughter and vandalism were in the best traditions of the Azāriḳa, the extreme Khārijite sectarians. He is also credited with employing that sect's war-cry, mentioned above, لا حكم الا لله. Nöldeke [*Sketches from Eastern History*, p. 151] emphatically considered him a Khārijite. "We should naturally," he writes, "have

[1] Based on Koran, iv, 76: "*Let those then fight in the Path of God who sell this present life for the next world.*"

[2] Usually curtailed to the first clause لا حكم الا لله.

expected to find him, like other 'Alids, appealing to the divine right of his house. But instead of this he declared himself for the doctrine of those most decided enemies of Shíite legitimism, the Khārijites or Zealots."

If the decipherment of the reverse legend, which I here tentatively propose, is correct, the coin supplies us with corroboration of the statement of contemporary historians, who might have been considered biased in their judgment of one who claimed to be the " Mahdī ", but whom they called Al-Khabīth, the Reprobate. The Ṣāḥib al-Zanj *did* subscribe to the Khārijite formula and this rare coin, issued in his name and from his newly-founded capital, bears evidence to that fact.

157.

The Shang-Yin Dynasty and the An-yang Finds

By W. PERCEVAL YETTS

(PLATES VI–IX)

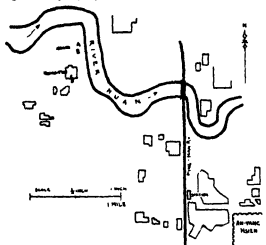
THE fact seems strange that thirty years elapsed between the known discovery of inscribed bones and tortoise shells near An-yang and the first systematic exploration of the site. Towards the end of 1928 digging was begun by an expedition sent by the National Research Institute of History and Philology, and partly financed by the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution. The work suffered from obstruction owing to the prevailing unrest; but several times it has been resumed, and three volumes have appeared under the title *Preliminary Reports of Excavations at An-yang*.[1] These give interim accounts of the varied results which provide important contributions to history and archæology.

The Site

Hsiao-t'un 小屯 is a village in the north of Ho-nan lying about 2 miles north-west of the city which under the Republic has reverted to its ancient name of An-yang Hsien, the former name Chang-tê Fu 彰德府 being discarded. As may be

[1] 安陽發掘報告, written in Chinese and published in Pei-p'ing by the Academia Sinica: pts. i and ii, 1929; pt. iii, 1931. Notices of the finds have appeared in the *Ill. London News*, 21st June, 1930, 1142–3, and 8th August, 1931, 222–3, 236: the *North-China Sunday News*, 26th July, 1931, 5, 12, and 2nd August, 1931, 3, 10, the last three articles being by H. J. Timperley. A general review by W. Eberhard, entitled *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen bei An-yang (Honan)*, appeared in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 1932, 1–15. The official Reports will be referred to as *PREA* in this article. Other abbreviations used are *ASB* for *Academia Sinica: Bulletin of the National Research Institute of History and Philology*; *CC* for Legge's *Chinese Classics*; *JRAS* for the *Jour. of the Roy. Asiatic Soc.*; *KS* for the *Yin-hsü shu ch'i k'ao shih* 殷虛書契考釋, revised edition of 1927, by Lo Chên-yü 羅振玉; and *MH* for Chavannes' *Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*. I take this opportunity gratefully to acknowledge help from Mr. L. C. Hopkins, Prof. B. Karlgren and Prof. A. C. Moule.

seen from the accompanying sketch-map,[1] the village is within a sharp bend of the tortuous Huan River 洹水[2] which flows in an easterly direction to the north of it.

Until recently little has been published concerning the Hsiao-t'un site. Probably the first Western observer was J. M. Menzies, who early in 1914 found potsherds and inscribed bone fragments lying upon the fields and a sandy waste to

the north of the village.[3] That year the place was visited by the noted archaeologist Lo Chên-yü, who has published an account in a diary of his travels.[4] He found numerous uninscribed fragments of bones and tortoise shells and the shells of a large bivalve lying upon the fields over an area of about 7 acres. He says that, between the crops, the villagers in

[1] Based on the map in *PREA*, i, which includes a scale showing Hsiao-t'un to be 6 kilometres from An-yang. It is corrected here to half that distance.

[2] The seventh-century commentator Yen Shih-ku 顏師古 notes that the name should be pronounced thus, the vulgar version Yüan not being correct. v. *Ch'ien Han shu*, xxxi, 10.

[3] v. *Oracle Records from the Waste of Yin* (Shanghai, 1917), pp. 1 and 2, by this author.

[4] *Wu shih jih mêng hên lu* 五十日夢痕錄, ff. 20 seq., included in the miscellany *Hsüeh t'ang ts'ung k'o* 雪堂叢刻, undated.

search of objects dig pits in their fields, sometimes to the depth of 20 feet, and fill them in again.

A complete account of the general appearance of the land within the loop of the Huan is given by O. Karlbeck, who visited the site in 1929.[1] He says that this area appears to be quite flat. "The north bank of the stream has a very gentle slope, an indication that the bed of the stream was once further north. In places the south bank, on the other hand, is quite steep, almost sheer in fact, and is therefore, in times of exceptionally heavy rains, subject to slips and erosion. It was probably owing to some such slip that the inscribed bones were first discovered. This, I was told, occurred north of the village." The slope of the southern bank is slight up to the right-angled bend to the east of the village. Here it becomes almost vertical and its height is from 10 to 14 feet. Searchers for relics had dug into this bank, starting at points between 6 and 7 feet from the top and cutting obliquely to levels below the foot. Visible in all the pits was a layer of "wood ash mixed with earth" at a depth of about 10 feet below the ground level. Above this layer no remains were visible except potsherds and human and animal bones close to the top of the bank. Below the ash layer were fragments of grey and red pottery, decorated with cord impressions. At one spot Karlbeck noticed a higher ash layer, about 5 feet below the surface. The fact that all the pits were carried down well below the foot of the bank indicates that here was a stratum in which objects were found.

Four sites, marked A, B, C, and D in the sketch-map, have been excavated by the aforesaid Chinese expedition, which was led by Li Chi 李濟 and Tung Tso-pin 董作賓. A and B are within the area which is believed to have been occupied by a Shang-Yin capital. The extent of this area has not yet been traced; much of the original site may have been washed

[1] v. *Notes on the Archæology of China* in the *Bull. of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, No. 2 (1930), pp. 193 seq.

away through changes in the course of the Huan. A study of the strata by Chang Wei-jan 張蔚然 [1] shows that the oldest level of habitation was several inches above the loess, into which the foundations of buildings were sunk. The building material was stamped earth and, of course, wood, now perished; neither bricks nor tiles have been found. Above the loess are alluvial layers, containing remains, alternating with cultural layers. There is evidence here of at least four floods which may have overwhelmed the dwellers—a fate common to all cities on the plain of the Yellow River. A point to be remembered is that before 602 B.C. the Yellow River turned northward at a point some 65 miles to the west of the present bend which is 20 miles east of K'ai-fêng. Thence it ran north-east in the direction of Tientsin, and thus passed some 15 miles east of An-yang. Therefore the city on this site at the time of the Shang-Yin dynasty was much more liable to invasion by the periodic floods of the river than would appear from present-day conditions. The Huan entered the Yellow River in its old course, and so provided a channel for inundations.

Sites C and D, in the village of Hsiao-t'un, differ from the two to the north. Dated tombs, opened by the expedition, prove that it was a burial ground about the beginning of the seventh century. The village itself is no older than the Ming dynasty.[2] On this site the ancient cultural remains were evidently deposited by a great flood which carried material thither from the direction of the Huan River. Perhaps it was a sudden catastrophe which destroyed the supposed Shang-Yin capital at a time when it was flourishing. Such an event would explain the presence of the vast quantity of inscribed tortoise shells and bones which surely were imperial archives, and were thus preserved by the mud from destruction which ordinarily would have overtaken them through war or other causes. It would explain, too, the fragmentary state

[1] *PREA*, ii, pp. 253–285.
[2] v. Li Chi, *PREA*, i, 38.

of these fragile archives, violently swept away from the place of storage. The main deposit of the Shang-Yin remains is below the seventh century tombs; but there is another layer above them, evidently due to a later flood.

Enough has been said to indicate that the problem of stratification at the An-yang site is extremely complex. There is evidence that the place has been inhabited more or less continuously from neolithic times. The number of cultural phases represented by remains and the confusion caused through redeposits by floods renders the task of the archæologist most difficult. All sorts of factors have to be taken into account. For instance, the level of the deposit left by the major inundation varies greatly according to the surface contours at the time of the event, and also as regards different kinds of objects in relation to their weight. Sherds and bronzes, being heavy, sank more quickly and became embedded in a deeper layer, while the shells and bones were left lying near the top.[1]

Conditions near An-yang contrast with those obtaining where cities have suffered a sudden catastrophe resulting in the place being so deeply buried that everything has remained undisturbed *in situ*. Herculaneum and Pompeii naturally occur to one's mind, and there is a well-known Chinese example. In A.D. 1108 the town of Chü-lu 鉅鹿 was overwhelmed by a flood which left it under 20 feet of mud.[2] The town is in southern Ho-pei, 90 miles north of An-yang, and at that time the Yellow River ran some 50 miles to the east of it. Chance circumstances led to digging for objects of value in Chü-lu; but there must be many other buried towns, around the lower course of the River, awaiting exploration.

Capitals of the Dynasty

Before attempting a brief survey of the finds, it seems fitting to inquire whether written tradition connects the An-yang

[1] v. Li Chi, *PREA*, i, 44 seq.

[2] v. Pelliot, *La date des "Céramiques de Kiu-lou"*, in *T'oung Pao*, xxii (1923), 377–382.

site with a capital of the Shang-Yin dynasty. First I take the *Shih chi* 史記, by Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷, which, since it was written about the beginning of the first century B.C., has been accepted as a standard history of ancient China. The following outline is derived from Chavannes' translation of the text and commentators' notes on the place-names.[1]

The ultimate ancestor of the House of Shang is said to have been Hsieh 契, who was enfeoffed by the legendary Emperor Shun 舜 towards the end of the third millennium B.C. The fief of Shang 商, from which the dynasty took their name, is located in Shensi about 50 miles south of the right-angled bend of the Yellow River. During a stretch of some 500 years, until the reign of the first sovereign of the dynasty, the Shang chieftains are supposed to have changed their headquarters eight times, but always within the same region. The first sovereign, T'ang 湯, moved eastward and established his capital at Po 亳. Three different places are identified with the name Po. Southern and Northern Po were in the neighbourhood of Kuei-tê 歸德 in eastern Ho-nan; Western Po was about 160 miles to the west, at the confluence of the Rivers Lo and I 洛伊. T'ang is said to have lived first in Southern Po, then to have moved to Western Po, which in the dim past had been the headquarters of the legendary Emperor Kao Hsin 高辛, father of his ancestor Hsieh. The tenth sovereign[2] moved the capital to Ao 囂, which may have been some 50 miles to the north-east, not far south of the Yellow River, in the vicinity of the present-day Jung-tsê 榮澤. Thence the twelfth sovereign moved to Hsiang 相, some 30 miles south-east of An-yang. His successor went 230 miles almost due west, and set up the capital in Kêng 耿, on the north bank of the River Fên 汾 in Shan-hsi, not far from its entrance into the Yellow River. This was the capital when P'an Kêng 盤庚, the nineteenth sovereign,

[1] *MH*. i. 174, 176, 191–4, 198, 200, 207.

[2] Names of these sovereigns, who are here indicated only by their order of succession, may be found in the table on pp. 670 and 671.

came to the throne. In spite of opposition on the part of his subjects, he made another change, and, having crossed to the south of the Yellow River, restored Western Po to its former eminence as the capital city. Wu I 武乙, the twenty-seventh sovereign, abandoned Po and went to "north of the Yellow River".

The foregoing contains nothing that can be construed as a definite link with An-yang. Nor is it stated where Wu I established his capital, beyond the vague statement "north of the River". One surmise is that the site was at Ch'i 淇, north of Wei-hui 衛輝 and about 36 miles south of An-yang. Some support for this is found in the account of the last Shang-Yin sovereign's defeat and death, on the supposition that he continued in the capital established by Wu I. After the Chou victory on the Plain of Mu 牧野, said to lie to the south of Ch'i, the last sovereign fled to the Deer Terrace 鹿臺, where, having donned his imperial robes and surrounded himself with his treasures, he set fire to the place and was burnt to death. Perhaps the Terrace was within or close to the capital, and commentators have identified the site with the remains of a mound at Ch'i.

The existence of the finds near An-yang calls for a critical review of written accounts of the Shang-Yin capitals in order to discover a connection hitherto hardly recognized. According to generally accepted tradition, P'an Kêng renamed Po and called it Yin 殷, the designation thenceforth adopted by the dynasty.[1] The question whether this tale is credible is answered by Wang Kuo-wei 王國維 in an article entitled

[1] Concerning the passage in the *Shih chi*, the second-century scholar Chêng Hsüan 鄭玄 notes that P'an Kêng "established the capital at Po, in the land of Yin. From the time of this move, the House of Shang changed their name and called themselves Yin". As to Po, the third-century scholar Huang-fu Mi 皇甫謐 places the site at the present-day Yen-shih 偃師, which lies close to the confluence of the Lo and I Rivers, as remarked above. v. *Shih chi*, iii, 20 v°. References given in this article, unless otherwise stated, are to the text edited by P'ei Yin 裴駰 and printed in the Sung *Po na* copy reproduced by the Commercial Press.

Shuo Yin 說殷.[1] He says: "If since the time of the *Shih chi* everyone has identified Yin with Po, the mistake began with a wrong character in the *Preface to the Shu* in the *Shang shu in Modern Script* 今文尚書,[2] and the Grand Annalist repeated it. Where the *Preface to the Shu* says: 'P'an Kêng made the fifth change and proposed to establish his capital at Po Yin'[3] (the Ancient Script 古文 version being the same in the Ma and Chêng editions),[4] Shu Hsi 束皙[5] remarks that the text of the *Book of History*, [found] in the wall of Confucius' [house],[6] gives the version: 'proposed first to dwell at Yin' [i.e. reading 始宅 instead of 治亳]. According to the

[1] v. *Kuan t'ang chi lin* 觀堂集林, ix, 16, 17, the first section of the first series of his collected works, published in 1927–8.

[2] The 29 sections of the *Book of History* as written in the new official script 隸書 in the second century B.C. when dictated from memory by the Master Fu 伏生 or Fu Shêng 伏勝.

[3] v. *CC*, iii, 7.

[4] Ma Jung 馬融 and Chêng Hsüan 鄭玄, famous commentators of the first and second centuries A.D.

[5] A noted scholar of the fourth century.

[6] The tradition is that Confucius compiled the *Book of History* in 100 sections. The work was temporarily lost at the time of the Burning of the Books (213 B.C.); but 29 sections were in the second century dictated from memory as noted above. A copy of the *Book* was said to have been among the texts, written in ancient characters formed like tadpoles 科斗, which were found at the end of the second or beginning of the first century B.C. in the hollow of a wall when the Prince of Lu 魯 began to demolish the dwelling of Confucius in order to make room for an extension of his palace. The inscribed slips were handed over for decipherment to K'ung An-kuo 孔安國, a descendant of the Sage. He transcribed them in the current *li* script with the aid of the Fu Shêng recension, and found that the latter's 29 sections should have been arranged in 34 sections. Besides these, he found 25 additional sections, making a total of 59, of which one was composed of preambles from the heads of the 100 original sections. This is known as the *ku wên* or "ancient figures" text 古文尚書. An-kuo's text was lost during the disorder about the end of the third century, and the alleged version of it, now extant, is generally considered to have been the spurious work of Mei Chi 梅賾 early in the fourth century. Doubt has also been thrown on the truth of the tradition concerning An-kuo's text. The subject is discussed by Legge in the *Prolegomena* of *CC*, iii, and by Pelliot in *Mémoires concernant l'Asie orientale*, ii (1916), 123–177.

commentary of K'ung,[1] if the character *Po* had been rubbed and looked damaged, it might have been read as *chai* 宅." There follows an argument which leads to several conclusions. First, no ancient text of unsuspected authenticity couples the place-names Po and Yin. Secondly, if P'an Kêng moved the capital to Po, he must have done so before he entered the territory lying within the large loop formed by the Yellow River, and after that transferred it to Yin. Moreover, this Yin was certainly the site of the finds, and it was known as Yin-hsü at any rate as early as the third century B.C.[2] In short, while discrediting the reliability of accepted tradition, Wang Kuo-wei extracts sufficient written evidence on which to base the theory that Yin-hsü became the capital under the nineteenth sovereign.

Lo Chên-yü, on the other hand, inclines to date the event in the reign of the twenty-seventh sovereign. A translation of his note [3] is as follows :—

"When commenting on the *Annals of the Yin Dynasty* 殷本紀 in the *Shih chi*, the *Chêng i* 正義 quotes the statement in the *Bamboo Annals* [4] 竹書紀年 to the effect that, during the '275 years which elapsed between P'an Kêng's move to Yin and the downfall of Chou 紂 [Hsin], there was no further transfer of capital '.[5] In the text of the same chapter of the

[1] K'ung Ying-ta 孔穎達, A.D. 574–648.

[2] In proof thereof Wang Kuo-wei cites a passage in the biography of Hsiang Yü 項羽, *Ch'ien Han shu*, xxxi, 10 v°.

[3] *KS*, i, 1, 2.

[4] The tradition is that these *Annals*, together with other texts also written on bamboo slips, were in A.D. 281 found by robbers who broke open a royal tomb dating from about 299 B.C. The tomb was at Chi 汲 near Wei-hui 衛輝, in north Ho-nan. They were lost probably during the Sung period, and there is dispute as to the manner in which the current text was compiled to replace the lost one. Judged by excerpts from the old text surviving in T'ang writings, the present recension differs from the other. v. *MH*, v, 446–479, and Maspero, *T'oung Pao*, xxv (1927–8), 368, 386.

[5] This comment by the eighth-century scholar Chang Shou-chieh 張守節 appears in the 1908 standard edition of the *Shih chi*, iii, 5 r°, but the text has the obvious error "773 years", not "275". The passage here quoted from the *Bamboo Annals* does not occur in the extant text.

Shih chi it says: 'When Wu I ascended the throne, the Yin abandoned Po again and moved to north of the River' [1] (according to the *Table of Generations of the Three Dynasties* 三代世表, Kêng Ting was he who made the move to the north of the River).[2] The current version of the *Bamboo Annals* says regarding Wu I that in the third year of his reign he moved from Yin to north of the River, and that in the fifteenth year of his reign from north of the River he moved to Mei 沬.[3] Mr. Wang [Ying-lin] [4] in his *Geography of the Book of Odes* 詩地理考 quotes the *Ti wang shih chi* 帝王世紀 [5] to say: 'Ti I again crossed to north of the Yellow River and moved the capital to Chao-kê 朝歌' (the inference being that Ti I from north of the Huan River moved to Mei. Had he been already on the north of the Yellow River, it cannot be said that he 'crossed again'. A character must be wrongly written). This means that after P'an Kêng until the last reign [i.e. that of Chou Hsin] there were in all two moves. All the texts state that he moved 'north of the River'; but omit to say which place.

"If we turn to the *Annals relating to Hsiang Yü* 項羽本紀 in the *Shih chi* we find: 'Hsiang Yü arranged a rendezvous on Yin-hsü to the south of the River Huan.' [6] The commentary *Chi chieh* 集解 [7] quotes Ying Shao 應劭 [8] as saying that 'the Huan River is within the boundary of T'ang-yin 湯陰 (i.e. the present-day An-yang. In the Han period T'ang-yin 蕩陰 included the region of present-day An-yang). Yin-hsü was a former Yin capital'. Tsan [9] says: 'The Huan River is north of the present An-yang Hsien, and is distant 150 *li* from the Yin capital at Chao-kê. Therefore this Yin-hsü is not Chao-kê.

"With reference to the *Yin Annals* in the *Shih chi*, the *Chêng i*

[1] *Shih chi*, iii, 21 r°.

[2] *Shih chi*, xiii, 4 v°.

[3] *CC*, iii, Proleg., 137.

[4] 王應麟, A.D. 1223–1296. This work is included in the collection *Hsüeh ching t'ao yüan* 學津討原.

[5] By Huang-fu Mi. Only 13 passages of the original 55 chapters remain and are included in the collection of reprints called *Chih hai* 指海.

[6] *Shih chi*, vii, 7 v°, and *MH*, ii, 272.

[7] By the fifth-century author P'ei Yin 裴駰.

[8] First century A.D.

[9] Hsieh Tsan 薛瓚.

commentary quotes the *Kua ti chih* 括地志 [1] to the effect that An-yang in Hsiang Chou 相州 was the original site of P'an Kêng's capital, and was the same as Pei-chung 北冢, to the south of Yin-hsü and 148 *li* from the city of Chao-kê. [It also quotes] the *Bamboo Annals*,[2] saying: 'From Yen 奄 P'an Kêng moved to Pei-chung,[3] which was called Yin-hsü (the character *hsü* being a gloss), 40 *li* to the south of Yeh 鄴.' That was the old capital. Distant 30 *li* to the south-west of the city is the Huan River, from the southern bank of which the city of An-yang is 3 *li*. Westward was the city named Yin-hsü. This is what was called Pei-chung.

"According to the *Shui ching chu* 水經注 in the section relating to the Huan River [4]: 'The Huan River rises east of the mountains, and passes to the north of Yin-hsü.' Also it says that the Huan River passes from the east of Yeh to the north of the city of An-yang. Also it quotes the *Wei t'u ti chi* 魏土地記 as saying 'that the city of An-yang is 40 *li* south of the city of Yeh; and to the north of the city [of An-yang] is the River Huan which flows eastward'. The passages agree in locating Yin-hsü south of the River Huan. Hence Wu I's move was to this place.

"If we except the errors in the *Chêng i* commentary that An-yang is to be identified with P'an Kêng's capital, and that the Yin-hsü of An-yang is to be identified with Pei-chung (Mr. Hsü [Wên-ching] [5] in his *Notes on the Bamboo Annals* 竹書紀年統箋 has already corrected them), all the explanations agree that there was a Yin-hsü south of the Huan River. According to a statement in the *Topography of Chang-tê Fu*, south-west of An-yang Hsien is the city of Ho Tan Chia 河亶甲, and this Yin-hsü is identified with Ho Tan Chia. Now, Ho Tan Chia lived in Hsiang 相. The place lay south-east of the present-day Nei-huang Hsien 內黃縣, and it was not the present-day An-yang. But the site from which the tortoise shells and animal bones are being excavated is precisely the mound at Hsiao-t'un, 5 *li* west of the present-day An-yang, to the south of the Huan

[1] A geography of the seventh century, now lost.

[2] Cf. *CC*, iii, Proleg., 135.

[3] The current text of the *Annals* has Pei-mêng 北蒙, and so had the ancient text as quoted in the tenth century, v. inf., p. 669.

[4] ix, 35 v°, seq.

[5] 徐文靖, of the eighteenth century.

River (which local folk call the An-yang River), in complete agreement with the foregoing data.

"So we know that Wu I's move was actually to this spot. In the topographies the identification of it with the city of Ho Tan Chia is erroneous. As for the statement in the *Bamboo Annals* that Wu I in the fifteenth year of his reign moved to Mei and the statement in the *Ti wang shih chi* that Ti I moved to Mei, the two are inconsistent. If we look for names of sovereigns appearing among the oracular sentences, we find that they go as far as Wu I, and then cease.[1] From that we gather that the move to Mei must have occurred at the time of Ti I. The *Bamboo Annals* are in error and the account in the [*Ti wang*] *shih chi* expresses the truth."

To be thorough, this inquiry should involve a comparison of all references to Shang-Yin capitals in ancient texts, and an estimate of the authenticity of each. Limitation of space forbids such an attempt here,[2] and I merely add a note on information derived from chapter 83 of the *T'ai p'ing yü lan* 太平御覽, an encyclopedia of excerpts from many sources, which was compiled by Li Fang 李昉 and others towards the end of the tenth century. The data are set forth by Wang Kuo-wei in a study[3] of alleged quotations from the *Bamboo Annals* to be found in various ancient books prior to the loss of the original text.

From the second to the eighth sovereigns, each, except the fourth, is stated to have dwelt at Po. The tenth is said to have moved from Po to Ao 囂, to be identified with the place-name which is written differently in the *Shih chi* (v. sup., p. 662), and is misprinted Yin 隱 in the text of the *T'ai p'ing yü lan*.

[1] This is incorrect. The last name to appear is Wên Wu Ting, as Lo himself notes, and he identifies it with the twenty-eighth sovereign, son of Wu I. v. *KS*, i, 4 v.

[2] v. Tung Tso-pin in a valuable article, *History of the Yin-hsü Site* 殷墟沿革 in *ASB*, ii, 224-240.

[3] Entitled 古本竹書紀年輯校 in the third series of his collected works *Hai-ning Wang Chung-ch'üeh Kung i shu* 海寧王忠愨公遺書 (1928). The study was begun by Chu Yu-ts'êng 朱右曾 and completed by Wang Kuo-wei.

Probably it lay a short distance north-west of Jung-tsê. The eleventh sovereign remained at Ao, and his successor moved to Hsiang 相. The thirteenth sovereign lived at Pi 庇, the locality of which is doubtful. Nothing is recorded concerning the capital of his successor; but the next two sovereigns are said to have remained at Pi. The seventeenth sovereign is said to have moved from Pi to Yen 奄, which may have been in the region of the later State of that name, east of Ch'ü-fu 曲阜 in Shan-tung. His successor remained at Yen; and the nineteenth sovereign moved thence "to Pei-mêng 北蒙, which is called Yin 殷".[1] The remaining sovereigns, except the twenty-second and twenty-eighth, are specifically stated to have dwelt in Yin. A significant entry is made relating to the third year of the twenty-eighth sovereign's reign. It says: "The Huan River thrice ceased to flow in one day." This suggests the proximity of the capital to the River.

A summary of the subject, together with a discussion of chronology, is given at the end of this article.

The Sovereigns

In the table below the generations are indicated with letters of the alphabet and the order of succession with serial numbers. The third column gives the names of sovereigns as generally accepted. Beside these, within square brackets, are equated names which are found among the An-yang inscriptions. Relationships established by the inscriptions are also printed within square brackets; the others are given in accordance with the third and thirteenth chapters of the *Shih chi* and the twentieth chapter[2] of the *Ch'ien Han shu*, and in the case

[1] K'ung Ying-ta's commentary on the P'an Kêng chapters in the *Book of History* is quoted to the effect that "Yin is 30 *li* to the south of Yeh". The same remark is quoted from Ssŭ-ma Chêng's 司馬貞 commentary on the Hsiang Yü chapter in the *Shih chi*. On the other hand, the latter's contemporary, Chang Shou-chieh, in his commentary on the *Yin Annals* in the *Shih chi*, gives the distance as 40 *li*, as quoted above on p. 667.

[2] Entitled *Ku chin jên piao* 古今人表.

of No. 7, where these differ, the version given is the one in harmony with the inscriptions. While compiling this table I have consulted Wang Kuo-wei's list which is included in the ninth chapter of the first section of the first series of his collected works. Other data are derived chiefly from Lo Chên-yü in *KS*, i, 1–8; L. C. Hopkins in *Sovereigns of the Shang Dynasty*, *JRAS*, 1917, 69–89; and Tung Tso-pin in *PREA*, i, 183–213. Note should be made that the reason why the second on the list is not given an independent serial number is that, according to tradition, he died before his father, and therefore did not ascend the throne.

A. 1. T'ang 湯. [Ta I 大 乙; T'ang 唐.]
B. 1a. Ta Ting 大 丁. [Same. Son of 1.]
B. 2. Wai Ping 外 丙. [Pu Ping 卜 丙.] Younger brother of 1a.
B. 3. Chung Jên 中 壬. Younger brother of 2.
C. 4. Ta Chia 大 甲. [Same. Son of 1a.]
C 5. Wu Ting 沃 丁. Son of 4.
D. 6. Ta Kêng 大 庚. [Same. Son of 4.]
D. 7. Hsiao Chia 小 甲. [Same.] Younger brother of 6.
D. 8. Yung Chi 雍 己. Younger brother of 7.
E. 9. Ta Mou 大 戊. [Same. Son of 6.]
F. 10. Chung Ting 中 丁. [Same. Son of 9.]
F. 11. Wai Jên 外 壬. [Pu Jên 卜 壬.] Younger brother of 10.
F. 12. Ho Tan Chia 河 亶 甲. [? Ti Chia 帝 甲.] Younger brother of 11.
G. 13. Tsu I 祖 乙. [Same. Son of 10.]
H. 14. Tsu Hsin 祖 辛. [Same. Son of 13.]
H. 15. Wu Chia 沃 甲. Younger brother of 14.
I. 16. Tsu Ting 祖 丁. [Same. Son of 14.]
I. 17. Nan Kêng 南 庚. [Same.] Son of 15.
J. 18. Yang Chia 陽 甲. [Ch'iang Chia 羌 甲. Son of 16.]
J. 19 P'an Kêng 盤 庚. [P'an Kêng 般 庚. Younger brother of 18.]
J. 20. Hsiao Hsin 小 辛. [Same. Younger brother of 19.]
J. 21. Hsiao I 小 乙. [Same and Hsiao Tsu I 小 祖 乙. Younger brother of 20.]
K. 22. Wu Ting 武 丁. [Same. Son of 21.]
L. 23. Tsu Kêng 祖 庚. [Same. Son of 22.]

L. 24. Tsu Chia 祖 甲. [Same. Younger brother of 23.]
? 25. Lin Hsin 廩 辛. ? Son of 24.
M. 26. Kêng Ting 庚 丁. [K'ang Ting 康 丁 and K'ang Tsu Ting 康 祖 丁. Son of 24.]
N. 27. Wu I 武 乙. [Same and Wu Tsu I 武 祖 乙. Son of 26.]
O. 28. Ta Ting 大 丁 and Wên Ting 文 丁. [Wên Ting 文 丁 and Wên Wu Ting 文 武 丁.] Son of 27.
P. 29. Ti I 帝 乙. Son of 28.
Q. 30. Ti Hsin 帝 辛. Son of 29.

From the above it will be gathered that the inscriptions seem to lack only eight of the traditional names of sovereigns, viz. Nos. 3, 5, 8, 12, 15, 25, 29, and 30. The fact that the last two are missing is explainable on the assumption that the great flood, which probably destroyed the city and caused abandonment of the site, occurred during the reign of the twenty-ninth sovereign. Perhaps No. 12 may be equated with the name Ti Chia 帝 甲 which is present.[1] Absence of the other five may be more apparent than real; for the inscriptions contain several names which still await identification, e.g. Tsu Ping 祖 丙, Tsu Mou 祖 戊, Hsiao Ting 小 丁, Chung Chi 中 己, and Nan Jên 南 壬. We are enabled to correct some traditional names which in the light of the finds may be recognized as mistaken readings of certain characters. As regards No. 1, the T'ien I 天 乙 of the *Shih chi* should be Ta I 大 乙; the Wai of Nos. 2 and 11 should be Pu: and the Kêng of No. 26 should be K'ang. The original modes of writings Nos. 18 and 19 are also disclosed.[2]

[1] According to the *Shih chi*, iii, 20 v°, this was a name of No. 24. The words are: "Tsu Chia ascended the throne, and he was Ti Chia." In *Shih chi*, xiii, 4 v°, the twenty-fourth Sovereign is called only Ti Chia. But Lo Chên-yü correlates the Ti Chia of the An-yang finds with No. 12 (or possibly No. 13), because the context of one inscription, in which the name occurs, indicates that this Ti Chia reigned before No. 16. v. *KS*, 5 r°.

[2] Though the pronunciation of 羌 or 羗 in ancient Chinese was like the Mandarin *ch'iang* (v. Karlgren's *Dict.*, No. 354), it must have been like *yang* 陽 and 羊 in archaic times. In a number of the inscriptions 羌 plainly serves as a "borrowing" (*chia chieh*) for "sheep" 羊. The latter

The Finds

By far the most important are the inscribed fragments of tortoise shells and bones. Indeed, the chief aim of the recent Chinese expedition was to enlarge the fund of these remains of royal archives, as they may reasonably be termed. They reveal the conditions of civilization under the Shang-Yin dynasty, in respect of which there was formerly little authentic information; for the historical substance of written tradition is almost confined to the succession of sovereigns and the vague and contradictory accounts of changes of capital. As criteria for study of the script, the inscriptions are of prime value.

An antique dealer, named Fan Wei-ch'ing 范維卿, of Wei Hsien 濰縣 in Shan-tung, may have been the first to grasp the antiquarian value of the inscribed tortoise shells and bones. In 1899 he bought at Hsiao-t'un some which had come from the river bank to the north of the village, and he is said to have offered them to the famous collector Tuan Fang 端方.[1] The introduction of the inscriptions to the learned world is, however, generally ascribed to Wang I-jung 王懿榮, a Grand Secretary and Libationer of the Han-lin, who recognized the archaic legends on certain "dragon-bones", obtained the same year at a medicine shop in Peking. Prior to that, it is said, many fragments had been bought by druggists from the peasants of Hsiao-t'un, who had generally scraped off the inscriptions in order to render the bones more saleable. On the entry in 1900 of the foreign troops into the capital when almost all the high officials had fled, the Grand Secretary committed suicide, together with his wife and

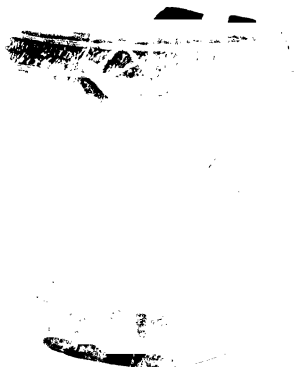
is the reading given by Lo Chen-yu for the character in the An-yang inscriptions, but Tung Tso-pin reads 羌 (v. *PREA*, ii. 331–3; iii, 425), and so does Takata Tadasuke 高田忠周 in *Ku chou p'ien* 古籀篇, lxxxix. 21, 22. Hopkins now accepts this view.

[1] v. Tung Tso-pin, *A Chronological Table concerning the Oracle Tortoise Shells and Bones* 甲骨年表 in *ASB*, ii. 241–260.

CARVED ANTLER IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. HEIGHT 11 INCHES.

[To face p. 672.

ANOTHER VIEW OF THE ANTLER ON PLATE VI.

ANOTHER VIEW OF THE ANTLER ON PLATE VI.

POT, WITH GLAZED ZONE, RECONSTRUCTED BY DR. LI CHI FROM FRAGMENTS FOUND AT AN-YANG.

daughter-in-law. But for his untimely end, he would probably have been the earliest exponent. Wang I-jung's collection was sold by his son to Liu O 劉鶚 (styled T'ieh-yün 鐵雲) who with this as a nucleus got together some 5,000 fragments. In 1903 he published photolithographed reproductions of inked-squeezes taken from 1,000 chosen pieces. Two years ago another edition of this pioneer work appeared under the title *T'ieh-yün ts'ang kuei shih wên* 鐵雲藏龜釋文. It contains decipherments and notes added by Pao Ting 鮑鼎, and a supplement with preface by Lo Chên-yü. The first to explain the inscriptions was Sun I-jang 孫詒讓 in his *Ch'i wên chü li* 契文舉例, written in 1904. Since then the literature of this subject has grown rapidly. Some seventy items are named by Ch'ên Chun 陳準 in a recent issue of the journal *T'u shu kuan hsüeh chi k'an* 圖書館學季刊, vi, No. 1. The latest to appear is a catalogue by Shang Ch'êng-tsu 商承祚 of thirty-seven fragments in Dr. J. C. Ferguson's collection, entitled 福氏所藏甲骨文字, as a monograph published by Nanking University this year. Most prominent among the Chinese writers are Wang Kuo-wei and Lo Chên-yü. F. H. Chalfant with his *Early Chinese Writing* in 1906 was the first Western writer to treat the subject, and he has been followed by L. C. Hopkins with a long series of valuable articles contributed chiefly to this Journal. Copies of inscriptions on 2,369 fragments were published by J. M. Menzies in the book previously mentioned (p. 658). These and other fragments to the number of "nearly fifty thousand", while stored in the owner's house, were in 1928 destroyed by Chinese soldiers. Though the literature is large, the published examples are but a fraction of those known to exist. The total in various collections exceeds 100,000 fragments, and this must be far short of the number recovered from the site since 1898. Many uninscribed bones are among the finds, and the cutting of imitation archaic inscriptions on these and other old bones has been and still is a flourishing

industry in the neighbourhood of An-yang. Mention should be made here of a comparatively small group of carved and inscribed bone objects which do not figure in the Chinese works. The shapes are various: alligators, cowries, fishes in couples (generally combined with one or two angular sonorous stones), bells, swords, flat discs like the *pi* 璧, a *pi* combined with the tablet *kuei* 圭,[1] and a tortoise combined with a disc or a sonorous stone. Most of them were acquired by Chalfant from a Wei Hsien dealer about 1910, and a number afterwards passed into the Hopkins Collection. The provenance remained mysterious, beyond a vague report that they were all found together in one receptacle. The An-yang site was not specified, though that was assumed to have been the place of origin owing to resemblances of the script with that on authentic An-yang finds. After many years of study, Mr. Hopkins tells me that he still and even more confidently adheres to his opinion that they are genuinely archaic, and he is now inclined to assign them to the early Chou period. The presence of miniature representations of the angular sonorous stone (*ch'ing* 磬) might be taken as support for this attribution; for the sonorous stones found at the An-yang site are of a different shape (v. inf., p. 679).

To attempt an account of the purport of the inscriptions would be beyond the scope of this article.[2] Suffice it to say that most are oracular sentences recording the questions addressed to, and sometimes the replies received from, dead ancestors. The subjects are varied: sacrificial rites, journeys, hunting, wars, harvests, weather forecasts, and genealogical

[1] Alligators and a *kuei-pi* are pictured in two articles by Hopkins in *JRAS*, 1913. These are declared by Pelliot to be fakes, *T'oung Pao*, xxii (1923), 7. Other of these "miniatures" appear in *JRAS*, 1911, pl. v B, following p. 1034, and in *Catalogue of a Collection of Objects of Chinese Art*, London (Burlington Fine Arts Club): 1915, pl. 55.

[2] The subject is treated by many Chinese and Japanese authors, and in English by Hopkins, of whose writings I have given a list in the *George Eumorfopoulos Collection Catalogue of the Chinese and Corean Bronzes*, etc., i, 73, 74. See especially the articles in *JRAS*, 1915, 49–61, 289–303, and *New China Review*, i (1919), 111–119, 249–261.

tables. One gathers that the living unceasingly communicated with their ancestors in order to obtain guidance concerning matters of everyday life. The dynastic ancestors are termed "royal guests" 王賓, and this fact enables us to understand a passage in the *Book of History* which had puzzled commentators.[1]

The technique of the scorching process was briefly as follows.[2] Cavities were cut or drilled on one face of a tortoise plastron or of a flat bone so deeply as nearly to pierce the other face. If drilled, the cavity was round; but less than 20 per cent were so treated. The majority had cut cavities of lentoid shape and about half an inch in length. A small proportion, and they were the thicker bones, had two superimposed cavities, one cut in lentoid shape being below a round one. When the oracle was to be taken, a glowing stick or red-hot metal rod was placed for a brief space of time in a cavity, with the result that cracks appeared on the other surface. Corresponding to the lentoid cavity, there was generally one longer crack, and one or more lateral cracks branched from it. Black or red pigment was rubbed into the cracks in order to render them more visible. The answer to the query, or the oracular response, was read from the manner of the cracks. Up to this point, the procedure is alluded to in a number of classical texts, the meaning of which becomes clear now that we have the actual arcana to examine. But none of these writings mentions what to us is of chief interest—the stage when the diviners inscribed against a scorched area the query addressed to the spirits of the dead and, sometimes, their answer conveyed through the medium of the respective cracks. We know from observation that each plastron or bone was often used for as many divinatory

[1] v. *CC*, iii, 452.

[2] v. Chavannes, *La divination par l'écaille de tortue dans la haute antiquité chinoise* in *Jour. Asiatique*, Jan.–Feb., 1911, 127–137, and Jung Chao-tsu 容肇祖, *Evolution of Divination* 占卜的源流 in *ASB*, i (1928), 47–87.

pronouncements as there was room for cavities. But the fact should be mentioned that often the queries were not inscribed alongside the scorched area. Perhaps they were noted on other bones. The tortoise shells seem to have been scarce, because on some the first inscriptions appear to have been obliterated and the shells made to serve for another series of divinations. Tung Tso-pin believes that tortoise shells were primarily used, and bones were resorted to only when the supply of the former failed.[1] A written account states that the shells were buried after they could be no longer utilized, because they were regarded as sacred objects to be treated with reverence.[2] A point to remark is that the duty of interpreting messages conveyed by the cracks must have rendered the diviners a privileged and powerful class, and the question of spiritualistic mediumship is one to be considered. Variations in the cracks are limited ; Lo Chên-yü recognizes fifteen.[3]

The recent expedition was fortunate in finding four almost complete plastrons, or ventral parts of the shell of the tortoise, and from the inscriptions on these Tung Tso-pin traces the customary sequence of procedure.[4] The dates suggest that a single plastron (which was the only part used for divination) may have been in use for eight months with varying intervals. There was also the practice of consulting the oracle regularly every ten days with regard to the following week. The days were reckoned in cycles of 60 and 10, and the latter is what I mean by " week ". Dates were written with the day first, next the month, and last the reign year.[5] This is a criterion when estimating the period of a bronze inscribed with a date.

With the inscribed bones and tortoise shells may be classed the carved fragments of ivory. Numerous pieces have been found, and few among the chief public and private collections

[1] *PREA*, i, 208.

[2] v. Legge, *The Li Ki*, *Sacred Books of the East*, xxvii, 92.

[3] *KS*, iii, 65 r.

[4] *PREA*, iii, 423–441.

[5] v. Tung Tso-pin in *PREA*, iii, 481–522.

of Chinese antiquities lack specimens. These bear the same decorative motives which are found on archaic bronzes, and naturally the question arises whether the ivory carvings may be assigned beyond doubt to the Shang-Yin period and so serve as criteria for an estimate of early Chinese art and the dating of bronzes in particular. The solution of this problem comes from a carved antler in the British Museum which seems to have been somewhat neglected by writers on the subject.[1] As may be observed from the accompanying plates VI, VII and VIII), the natural shape of the antler appears to have been utilized to represent the horned head of a dragon, the base being carved to simulate open jaws with fangs. Two bosses provide the eyes, and between them is a lozenge-shaped protuberance. The surface is carved in low relief with a number of motives : the cicada, *k'uei* 夔 dragon, serpent, and the "cloud and thunder pattern" filling the interstices. All these commonly appear on archaic bronzes, and, indeed, it would be an anachronism to describe the whole work as a "dragon's head", if so it were identified with the horned, four-legged dragon which seems to have been a later conception.[2] An alternative explanation depends on the origin and meaning of the so-called *t'ao-t'ieh* 饕 餮 mask—a large problem which cannot be discussed here. Present are elements of the *t'ao-t'ieh*, which, as hardly need be remarked, provided the main motive for the decoration of most archaic bronzes. Note the characteristic eyebrows which

[1] Little attention has been paid to it since it was described by L. C. Hopkins and R. L. Hobson in *Man*, xii (1912), 49–52, under the title *A Royal Relic of Ancient China*.

[2] There are, however, criteria which might be taken as evidence that a dragon with horns existed in the animal art of the Shang-Yin period. For instance, the head of a creature with open jaws, carved in ivory or bone, appears to have the same sort of short horns, with rounded tips, as the British Museum piece. It belongs to the Crown Prince of Sweden, and it is represented by Sirén, *A History of Early Chinese Art* (London, 1929), i, pl. 12. Many bronzes have this type of creature which has one leg, and is named "*k'uei* dragon" in the early catalogues; but often it lacks horns.

are displaced inwards over the lozenge-shaped protuberance, owing to the position of the antler points. In short, while the so-called *k'uei* dragon seems a more plausible description, the traditional *t'ao-t'ieh* should not be excluded, though that would entail an explanation of the unusual presence of a lower jaw. A note should be made that this antler is evidently one of the kind which Lo Chên-yü mentions in his diary[1] as belonging to an extinct species and having been found in plenty at the An-yang site. They had a circular excrescence at their base, and the villagers called them "dragon horns".

Similar ornament appears on pieces of carved ivory and bone; but the antler is of prime importance because it also has what is evidently a contemporary inscription in the script of the Shang-Yin archives. It is incised upon the shaft, which has been cut square, and it comprises fifty-six characters constituting a genealogical tree, as described by Hopkins in *Man*. A duplicate of the list, exact except for the omission of the two first characters, is incised upon a shoulder-blade in the British Museum.[2] The presence of such genealogical lists among the An-yang inscriptions is traceable to the need for a record of ancestors in their correct sequence so that sacrificial rites might be duly performed.

The finds include a large number of bones besides those used for divination purposes. Bones of the elephant,[3] tiger,

[1] *Wu shih jih mêng hên lu*, 21 r°. Probably Père David's "tailed deer", *Cervus (elaphurus) davidianus*, which in recent years has survived solely in the Duke of Bedford's herd at Woburn Park, now numbering about 200 head. Allusions in classical literature to the *mi* 麋 prove that in ancient times it was plentiful in the marshes around the lower stretches of the Yellow River. v. Möllendorff, *The Vertebrata of the Province of Chihli* in *Jour. North China Br. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, 1877, 68–75.

[2] Reproduced in fig. 4 of an article by A. Bernhardi, *Frühgeschichtliche Orakelknochen aus China*, in *Baessler-Archiv*, iv (1913–14), 14–18. The author stigmatizes it as counterfeit, which Hopkins denies in *JRAS*, 1913, 906. Another example is on a shoulder-blade in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, which is reproduced in fig. 11 of Bernhardi's article.

[3] If not actually indigenous to that part of China in those times, the elephant seems to have been well-known. v. Hsü Chung-shu 徐中舒,

bear, deer, ox, sheep, goat, pig, and dog have been recognized. On one bone was found an inscription which has occasioned a long and elaborate inquiry by Tung Tso-pin into the problem of the unicorn or *lin* 麟.[1] Communication with the coast is proved by the presence of cowries, whale bones, and many salt water shells, including the large bivalves, previously mentioned.

Among the stone objects the sonorous stones 石磬 of triangular shape, like that of the ancient ploughshare, should be mentioned. Lo Chên-yü remarks that these differ from the angular kind used under the Chou.[2] Much interest has been aroused in the lower part of a human figure, about 8½ inches high, which was found by the recent expedition.[3] It is in a sitting posture with the thighs against the abdomen, the knees fully flexed and the two arms grasping the legs. The surface is covered with incised spiral patterns, and these have been explained as representing tattooed ornament. Cut into the back is a wide vertical groove, into which a pole may have fitted; and perhaps the figure was made for some architectural purpose. Many stone implements of neolithic type were also found.

Recovery of bronzes from An-yang began at least as early as the Sung period, as may be seen from entries in the earliest extant catalogue of bronzes.[4] The site was at that time wrongly identified with Ho Tan Chia, the twelfth Shang-Yin sovereign. None can tell how many pieces it has yielded to treasure seekers during the last nine centuries or longer.

Domestication of Elephants by the Yin and the Migration of Elephants to the South 殷人服象及象之南遷 in *ASB*, ii, pt. i, 60–75. According to the tradition cited by Mencius, certain Shang-Yin sovereigns had parks in which wild animals were kept. v. *CC*, ii, 280–1.

[1] *PREA*, ii, 287–335.

[2] *Wu shih jih mêng hên lu*, 21. Five examples are pictured in *Yin-hsü ku ch'i wu t'u lu* 殷虛古器物圖錄 (1916), 7–11.

[3] v. Li Chi's article and the photographs opposite p. 250 in *PREA*, ii.

[4] *K'ao ku t'u* 考古圖, iv, 45; v, 12, by Lü Ta-lin 呂大臨, whose preface is dated A.D. 1092.

Recently, when attention has been centred on the place, the bronze finds have been numerous, and most of the large collections contain examples—fragments of ritual vessels, weapons, tools, etc. The decorative designs on them and on the ivory and bone carvings are similar. Some of these objects are evidently *ming ch'i* 明器 or things made specially for burial with the dead. An important fact is the presence of moulds, lumps of metal and charcoal which prove that casting was practised on the spot.[1]

A full description of the pottery has not yet been published, and perplexing problems of stratification render the dating a most difficult task. There seem to be three main categories. First there is a coarse grey ware modelled by hand and often decorated chiefly with mat or cord imprints. This includes supposed prototypes of various bronze classes.[2] Apparently evidence of direct continuity with the neolithic finds of Andersson is lacking, though a solitary painted sherd of the Yang-shao 仰韶 type was found.[3] Secondly, a black ware with simple incised designs is to be noted. Some specimens are thin and glossy. The third category has claimed most attention. It is a fine white ware carved with designs similar to those on the antler previously described and on archaic bronzes. Many fragments came into the hands of collectors before the recent expedition proved beyond doubt that the provenance was the An-yang site. Hamada Kōsaku 濱田

[1] Li Chi, *PREA*, ii, 240–9. Reference should also be made to an article contributed by this author to the *Volume of Essays in Honour of Mr. Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei on attaining the Age of Sixty-five* 蔡元培先生六十五歲慶祝論文集. Pei-p'ing: 1932, pp. 73–104. It is entitled *Five Kinds of Bronze Implements from Yin-hsü and Problems of their Analogues* 殷墟銅器五種及其相關之問題. Those treated are (1) Arrow-heads 矢鏃; (2) "Hooked weapons" 句兵; (3) Spears 矛; (4) Erasing knives 刀與削; (5) Celts 斧與錛.

[2] v. Li Chi, *PREA*, iii, 447–480, and a short article by Hopkins and Yetts in *JRAS*, 1933, 107–113.

[3] v. Li Chi, *PREA*, ii, 337–347.

耕作[1] advances the theory that this carved white pottery was a superior grade made for the rich and great on the analogy of Wide's theory to account for the two styles of Mycenaean pottery, and this seems to be a reasonable conjecture. Another theory, that it served as patterns for the casting of bronze vessels, might also be reasonable if there were evidence to support it. So far as I know, no bronze has yet been found to show the distinctive surface quality of this carved pottery. Had it functioned in the *cire perdue* process, the resultant casting would have been an exact replica, unless, of course, the wax model had been tooled after being moulded.

Following an announcement[2] that glazed Shang-Yin pottery was among the An-yang finds, I wrote to Dr. Li for further information. He most obligingly sent me some particulars together with a specimen. His letter contains this passage: "You will observe that it is a kind of hard baked shard with a thin cover, that was evidently intentionally applied and often with very shiny appearance. At first it was thought it might be a kind of 'salt glaze', but recent analysis shows that this is very doubtful. In most cases this thin cover has been entirely worn out." In reply to another letter asking for details of evidence connecting the glazed ware with the Shang-Yin period, Dr. Li was kind enough to send the following information on 7th January, 1933:—

"Now come to the specific questions regarding the fragment of the pottery I sent to you for examination. There are two features in the circumstances of discovery of such pottery fragments which prove beyond doubt that they must have been contemporaneous with the oracle bones. Firstly it is only in the intact cultural stratum of the oracle bone deposit that such shards have been found, and in one case, one complete pot can be restored (of which I am sending you a picture) from fragments

[1] In *Kokka* 國華, No. 397 (1921), and *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, No. 1 (1926), 46, 47.

[2] By H. J. Timperley in *North-China Sunday News*, 26th July, 1931, and later by Li Chi in *Symposium on Chinese Culture* (1932), 224, 225.

found in such stratum. The second feature is even more assuring. Lately we have discovered an extensive distribution of the 'stamped earth' (版 築) which proves to be the house foundations of the Shang Dynasty. Under such foundations pits of circular and rectangular shape have been observed. In these pits, pot shards of this particular type have been found.

"As to whether the 'glaze' was applied intentionally the picture I sent to you will clearly show. In general the upper margin of this 'glaze' is always even and there are evident traces showing the use of brush. So if it is glaze at all, it must have been applied intentionally."

Sir Herbert Jackson and Mr. J. H. Cooke have kindly tested the specimen fragment, and a summary of their results is as follows. Portions were heated to 1000, 1100, 1200, and 1350 degrees Centigrade, without apparent change in hardness until the last temperature was reached. Sections of portions at the three lower temperatures showed a slight reddening. At 1350° the colour became light grey and the substance harder. By naked eye and microscope the body is seen to be poorly mixed, there being marked reddish brown streaks in the buff body, and particles of quartz, varying much in size, are present. The glaze is of a felspathic nature, standing a high temperature and not becoming absorbed into the body to any marked extent at 1200°. The ware approaches the proto-porcellanous type, and it emits a slight ring on percussion.

One may add that the pot appears to have been turned on the wheel. The precision of the shaping and the presence of exactly parallel scores leave little room for doubt. The colour of the glaze is not apparent where it is thin, but where thick it has a yellowish green tinge. It was evidently confined to a zone on the shoulder of the pot, where two encircling ridges, roughly rectangular in section and half an inch apart, are applied as decoration. The flat edges of these ridges are scored obliquely, and one-eighth of an inch under the lower ridge is a zone of three parallel incised lines. This restriction of the glaze to a decorated zone round the shoulder may be

observed again on the reconstructed pot, a photograph of which Dr. Li has been good enough to contribute (Plate IX).

There is no space to discuss the human remains, nor have full anthropological details yet been published. Three burials face-downwards are reported and also a red burial.[1]

CONCLUSION

There can be no doubt that a Shang-Yin capital stood on the site of the An-yang finds; but its duration is uncertain. It must have lasted until the twenty-ninth sovereign's reign, if not longer; for the name of his predecessor appears in the oracular sentences. Moreover, the recent expedition found an inscription which is said to mention a Marquis of Chou 周侯,[2] though this interpretation seems to me questionable. An allusion such as that must have been to one of the three immediate ancestors of the first Chou emperor.[3] The beginning of the capital is more debatable. Though the evidence outlined in this article is conflicting, it clearly indicates the reigns of the nineteenth and twenty-seventh sovereigns as likely alternatives. Wang Kuo-wei inclines to the former, and Lo Chên-yü's acceptance of the latter reign appears to have received the support of most writers on inadequate grounds.

The traditional dates assigned to these two reigns cannot be accepted.[4] According to the chronology of the *Bamboo Annals* the nineteenth sovereign ascended the throne in 1315 B.C., and the twenty-seventh in 1159. Calculations made by Han scholars give 1401 B.C. and 1198 respectively. Let us start from the year 841 B.C. which the cautious historian Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien declares the earliest limit of exact chronology. Before that date, when the Regency period termed *kung-ho*

[1] v. Li Chi, *PREA*, iii, 447 seq.

[2] v. Tung Tso-pin, *PREA*, i, 165, fig. 277, and p. 191.

[3] The implication being that the inscription was probably written during the reign of the twenty-ninth sovereign, but certainly not earlier than that of the twenty-seventh.

[4] v. Maspero, *La Chine antique*, 46.

共和 began, ten Chou emperors reigned. Allowing an average of fifteen years to each reign, we arrive at 991 B.C. for the establishment of the dynasty. (The *Bamboo Annals* give 1050 B.C.) Still assuming the same average duration of a reign, which is probably too high an estimate, we find that the nineteenth Shang-Yin sovereign ascended the throne in 1161 B.C. and the twenty-seventh in 1051. If these results be checked by generations, allowing twenty-five years to a generation (perhaps also too high), we find on reference to the table (pp. 670-1) that the nineteenth sovereign ascended the throne in 1166 B.C. and the twenty-seventh in 1066. While making such calculations, a point to be remembered is that the sequence of the Shang-Yin sovereigns is almost the sole dependable tradition concerning the dynasty to be found in classical works. The first Chou emperor charged the Princes of Sung 宋 with the duty of maintaining sacrificial rites to their ancestors of the Shang-Yin dynasty, and the ruling House of Sung lasted until 286 B.C. It would have been but consistent with national custom if remnants of the family had continued to preserve intact the record of ancestral descent which was necessary for due observance of the rites. The evidence of the An-yang inscriptions supports this assumption and also in the main the traditional record of generations, though it proves that in several instances the names became miswritten.

In short, we may accept as approximate either the latter half of the twelfth century B.C. or the latter half of the eleventh as the time when the Shang-Yin capital was moved to the site near An-yang; and probably the site was abandoned about the end of the eleventh century. The vast accumulation of oracle archives can hardly be explained except by the surmise that some were carried thither when the new capital was established.

A crucial point is, of course, the extent to which the An-yang finds allow us to estimate early civilization in China. The time has long since passed when the state of knowledge led to discussions on Chinese culture prior to the Han as a homo-

geneous unit[1]; but the criteria are not yet enough to give us a general view of this complex problem. One may feel confident, however, in the surmise that the An-yang remains manifest a comparatively local product, and that they postulate a long development, to which the stage of script evolution and the technical excellence of the bronze casting chiefly testify. Also a safe conclusion is that the Chou accepted and carried on the tradition. Of special moment to ceramic enthusiasts is the reported use of glaze about a thousand years earlier than formerly recognized. This is but one of the many details awaiting fuller investigation in future accounts of discoveries made by the first Chinese scientific excavation. We hope that many more such expeditions will follow, and that Dr. Li Chi and others will continue their illuminating reports.

[1] v. Li Chi in *PREA*, ii, 337-347; Fu Ssŭ-nien 傅斯年 in *PREA*, ii, 349–386; and Hsü Chung-shu in *PREA*, iii, 523–557.

165.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

NOTE ON CERTAIN WORDS IN THE CHAHĀR MAQĀLA

In spite of Browne's excellent translation there are a few words in the Chahār Maqāla which are still obscure. Two or three such words, and a connected matter, I propose to consider here.

I

On p. 5 of the text (Gibb Mem. Series, vol. xii) Niẓāmī mentions the following " products of the inorganic world " :—

کوهها و کانها و ابر و برف و باران و رعد و برق و
کواکب منقضّه و ذو الذوابه و نیازک و عِصِیّ و هاله و
حریق و صاعقه و زلزله و عیون گوناگون چنانکه
در آثار علوی این را شرحی بمقام خود داده شده است

In Browne's first translation he left a gap for عِصِیّ, and put a note at the foot of the page stating that he could not find out what the word meant; in his later rendering he did away with the gap and note and translated " meteors, thunderbolts ". I have recently stumbled across a passage in another work which shows that نیازک و عِصِیّ are optical phenomena caused by the slanting rays of the setting (or rising) sun acting on a moisture laden atmosphere and producing the effect of lines in the sky. And حریق, which Browne translates " conflagrations ", really means " spontaneous combustion ".

The Chahār Maqāla was written about A.H. 550. Half a century earlier Sahmu'd-dīn bin Abī'l-Khayr wrote the Nuzhatnāma-i-'Alā'ī, a quaint compendium of mediaeval scientific beliefs. On folio 131*a* of the Bodleian MS.

(Ouseley 362) the author discusses, or quotes a discussion of, certain phenomena, the list of which somewhat resembles Niẓámí's enumeration. They are:—

باران برف ژاله شبنم رعد و برق بادها حریق
کواکب منقضه شموس و ذات الذوایب نیازك و عصی
قوس و قزح هاله صاعقه زلازل چشمه‌ها
جوی‌ها و رودها کوه‌ها

And he explains نیازك و عصی as follows:—

هرگاه که برهوا بخاری باشد متوسط اندرو برودت و حرارت و روی آن بخار صیقل بود و خورشید بر آفاق بود و وضع آن بخار بران جملت بود که چون بصر بدو پیوندد و بر زاویهٔ متساوی ازو منعکس شود و بجرم خورشید پیوندد حس بصر آنرا سخت ادراك کند از بهر آنکه آن بخار مظلم بود و جرم خورشید سخت روشن وچون ممزوج گرداند بصر را سرخی از مرکّب مدرك شود و شکل این بخارات که بصر ازو منعکس شود و بخورشید پیوندد یا برصورت تیرها خرد بود یا بر صورت عصاها و ازین سبب این نیازك و عصی خوانند و ببرهان هندسی مقرّر گشتست اندر

اختلاف المناظر که نشاید که صورت آن جرم مدّور بود
یا مثلث یا شکل دیگر الّا اشکال نیازلـ و عصی

II

Now Sahmu'd-dīn in his description of these phenomena is not making original observations, but is quoting an earlier work by a certain Khwāja Ḥakīm Abū Ḥātim Muẓaffar bin Ismā'īl Isfizārī. The Nuzhatnāma is divided into *maqālas* or discourses, and the tenth *maqāla* (on folio 128*a*) begins thus :—

مقالهٔ دهم اندر آثار علوی

کتابی یافتم که خواجه حکیم ابو حاتم مظفر بن
اسمعیل اسفزاری . . . کرده بود اندر آثار علوی بغایت
نیکوئی و اختصار و لفظ مُبیّن همچنان نسخت کردم
وتالیف خویش بدان آراسته گردانیدم و زیادت و نقصانی
نرفت الّا خطبه که نبشته نیامد آغاز کتاب حکیمان
چنین گفتند موجودات عالم که ایزد تعالی آفرید از دو گونه
است الخ

TENTH DISCOURSE. ON THE INFLUENCES ABOVE.

I found a work written most excellently, concisely, and clearly, by Khwāja Ḥakīm Abū Ḥātim Muẓaffar bin Ismā'īl Isfizārī . . . on *The Influences Above*. I copied it, and adorned my own work with it, without adding to it, or taking from it, except for not writing the address. Beginning of the book :— Philosophers have said that

worldly existences, which God Almighty has created, are of two kinds . . .

The copyist has written the word after Isfizārī without diacritical points, and I cannot read it; perhaps the copyist could not read it himself. I do not seem to know anything about the Khwāja, or his work. But from this passage, and from a comparison of the lists of phenomena given in it and in the Chahār Maqāla, it appears clear that Niẓāmī had the Nuzhatnāma, or the original work of Khwāja Ḥakīm Abū Ḥātim, before him. And it is to this that he refers in the words: چنانکه در آثار علوی این را شرحی بمقام خود داده شده است, "as has been noted in its proper place in the Āthār-i-'Ulviy (The Influences Above)."

146. C. N. SEDDON.

ON VARDHAMĀNA AGAIN

I have already written too much on this word and must plead in excuse for reverting to it that the possibly decisive reference eluded me till after the appearance of the JOURNAL for April, 1932. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 639, describes the asterism Puṣya as *tritāraṁ vardhamānasaṁsthānam*. This asterism consists of the three stars, γ, δ and θ of Cancer, which form an obtuse-angled triangle with the obtuse angle uppermost. From this I infer that the chief characteristic of the shape of the *vardhamāna* was its possession of three points with the middle one highest. These points are to be seen in the figure I would identify with the shape and in the Jain jars of this name, while Burnouf's conjectural identification is excluded by this piece of evidence. In some forms of this shape the points are very marked, e.g. in the Burmese coins reproduced in Phayre's *Coins of Arakan, Pegu and Burma*, plates ii and v, where they are described as *triśūlas*, but are associated with Buddhist emblems.

159 E. H. JOHNSTON.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE MYTHOLOGY OF ALL RACES. Vol. V: Semitic. By S. H. LANGDON. 9½ × 6½, pp. xx + 454, ills. 102. Boston: Archæological Institute of America, Marshall Jones Co. (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press), 1931. 52*s.* 6*d.*

It is a matter for remark that a work on Semitic Mythology as a whole has never been written before. Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites* dealt with religion rather than with myth, and abstracted from Assyriology, which is the special subject of our present author; and the scope of Lagrange's *Études sur les religions sémitiques* is indicated by the title. Professor Langdon will have the gratitude of all readers who appreciate the difficulty of his undertaking.

Chapter I, "Geographical and Linguistic Distribution of Semitic Races and Deities," is concerned with the Semitic gods in general, and the remainder of the work is mainly Assyriological. The long first chapter makes comparatively difficult reading, but a directive idea that gives it unity is that there are two principal sources of Semitic mythology: the Semitic religion of Arabia and the sumerianized Semitic of Babylonia that influenced the whole North Semitic territory—Aramæan, Canaanite, and even North Arabian. In the quest for Babylonian clues to North Semitic problems Professor Langdon does not fail to be instructive and stimulating. There are several new suggestions about Biblical matters: e.g. manna, and the Book of Yašer. Chapter ii, "The Sumero-Akkadian Pantheon," gives an interesting account of the difficult subject. Chapters iii to xi are devoted to the various Sumerian and Akkadian myths. Translations of noteworthy passages (many of which are to many readers hardly accessible elsewhere) alternate with summary and explanation. These chapters read pleasantly. First place is

given to the Legend of Etana (chapter iii), the text of which Professor Langdon has recently re-edited with the help of new material and joins. In the chapter on the Gilgames epic Assyriologists will find a new arrangement of fragments. The last chapter deals mainly with the demons of Babylonia; also with their survival in certain folk-lores. It is a very interesting and original work on a subject that will attract most orientalists occupied with Western Asia. More's the pity that the price is so high.

As it would be impossible to attempt here an examination of everything in a work of this scope, I abstain from studying the many extensive translations from the mythological poems—the more willingly because Professor Langdon has an acquaintance with texts of this kind that can hardly be surpassed.

The first chapter is the one that provokes most discussion. The author would probably admit and give good reason for a certain "pan-Babylonian" tendency. Sometimes it goes rather far. A difficult problem is created by the tacit assumption that West Sem. *MLK* ought to be explained by *Malik* (title of Nergal in a god-list), which does not mean King. For *MKL* (of Palestine and Cyprus) is proposed the East Sem. vocalization *mukkil*, devourer. It is argued that West Sem. theophorous names composed with *aḫ*, brother, may be due to the influence of the Babylonian worship of Tamuz as the brother (sc. of Ištar) (p. 7), or that of Enlil as brother of the earth-goddess (p. 12). In this connection M. Noth's studies of the *forms* of the Semitic names containing "brother" deserve notice. Most are nominal sentences - a form which was inherited from undivided North Semitic: in West Semitic they have also the form noun + perfect, which suggests that names of this kind were still being created by West Semites after the separation of West from East Semitic: on the other hand, brother-names of characteristically East Semitic form (like *Aḫi-ālik-pāni*) are very rare (*ZDMG*, 1927, and *Die israel. Personennamen*;

66–75). Thus the specifically Eastern Semitic religion would have nothing to do with the origin of the names in question.

As name of the God of Israel Langdon uses Yāw. The implication is that the first ה of יהוה was (apparently to the end of the period covered by this book) merely *mater lectionis*: but note Delaporte, *Épig. aram.*, No. 47, יהונתן transcribed *Ia-a-ḫu-u-na-tan-nu*, and the presumption is that some earlier instances of יהו represent a similar pronunciation. It is suggested that the quadrilitteral יהוה was invented to carry the vowels of Adonai; a name Yahweh "never existed" (p. 43): but the existence of *Iaβε* among the Samaritans according to Theodoret (Migne, *Pat. Graec.*, 80, 244) deserves attention, to say nothing of the implications of Exodus (E), etc. Probably the expression of the argument could be so modified at these points as to leave valid the main thesis of an original Yāw. Personally I think that the extant evidence favours the originality of radical *h*. However, it is now reported that "Yaw" is found at Rās Šamra.

Of the divine name El, an extremely original theory is the following (65 ff.). El, probably old Semitic designation of the Sky-god, became for the West Semites a proper name of the Sun-god. The ilāni (*plur. maj*) of the Habiru was the Sun-god: so also El and Elohim of the Hebrews, who are equated to the Habiru. "In the late period" (42, cf. 66) the solar El/Elohim coalesced with Yāw, the Storm-god. The former was originally god of the Northern, the latter god of the Southern Israelites (5). This would be very important. But, firstly, the proof that El as a proper name regularly denoted the Sun-god seems to be meagre—principally the divine name *RKB'L* in the inscriptions of Zenjirli and the solar iconography of El of Byblos; and even this foundation seems shaky. That *RKB'L* denotes the Charioteer (or Chariot) of the Sun is probable, but that אל is here the proper name of the Sun-god is not a strictly necessary deduction, and not a satisfactory one in view of the regular distinction between El and

Samal in the Hadad inscription. From this point of view it would be easier to see in El a survival of the old Semitic El plausibly supposed by Langdon to have been the heaven-god. As to Phœnician, El does not seem to me solar in the Râs Šamra mythology, but rather a Zeus or Kronos (these documents Professor Langdon was not yet able to use). Anyhow, the theory that for the Hebrews El or Elohim was a Sun-god distinct from Yāw is highly speculative until indications of this distinction can be shown in the Hebrew documents. On p. 70 five allusions to the divine wings (solar figure) are cited from the Old Testament: as Professor Langdon is careful to point out, two refer to Yāw, three to Elohim: and it may be added that two of these three come from Book II of the Psalms, which has been editorially elohized.

Smaller matters in chapter i. P. 18, l. 27: fifth, read twenty-fifth. Note 79 to p. 19, and index s.v. Orotalt: this name of the principal Nabatæan god in Herodotus explained as Walad-alat. Is allāt intended? If so the explanation is a little more difficult. I might refer to a suggestion in *Journ. Soc. Orient. Res.*, 1927, 77, that final τ is dittographed from $\tau\eta\nu$ following, and ΟΡΟΤΑΛ < ΟΒΟΤΑΔ is Obodat, עבדת, which actually occurs (Obodas in an inscription and in Tertullian) as name of a principal Nabatæan god. P. 34: it is probably incorrect to say that the teraphim were put *in* David's bed (probably עַל would be used, not אֶל): rather the figures were put at the bedside to give the illusion of a rite for the sick (Barnes, *Journ. Theol. Stud.*, xxx, 178). Also the other details—the "net of the goat" at the place of the head—probably have a ritual character, which should be connected with Babylonian rites of healing (cf. e.g. this book, p. 356). P. 41: חלבבה (in the inscription of Panammu) = *Aleppo*, is new to me, and being *prima facie* very difficult seems to need a note. P. 44: the name Aḫi-ia-mi at Ta'annek *proves* the existence of a Canaanite Yāw: note recent arguments to the contrary—Driver, *ZAW*, N.F. 5, 7[1]; Noth, op. cit., 109; Gustav, *Die Personennamen . . . von Tell Ta'annek*,

41 (all in 1928). P. 51, "holy rocks": on the sense of *αμβροσιε παιτρε* cf. Cook, *Schweich Lectures*, 1925, 161. Note 349 to p. 72: *ilāni*, cited from Harper's *Letters*, 301, 7 as example of plural of majesty, refers to Aššur and Marduk. P. 76: cult of Tamuz at Bethlehem in St. Jerome's day: rather two or three centuries before his day (probably extinct in the time of Origen).

In the other chapters it may be useful to refer to the following points. P. 107: supply reference to the last citation—*KAR*, 59, obv. 29 f., rev. 4 f. Note 57 to p. 108: Harper, 1194, 13 (not 3). P. 120, l. 12: misprint for *-nuntaš*. Note 150 to p. 140: *Oannes*. P. 152: probably ŠEŠ-KI is not the *original* ideogram of Nanna; rather ŠEŠ-NA (cf. suggestion of Deimel, *Lex*. s.v., based on Fara, now confirmed by texts from Ur). P. 160, 1: "top stage" of the ziggurrat of Ur; rather, temple on the top. P. 189: "sons of God," not actually in passage cited, is emendation of "stones of fire". P. 193, top: I am perplexed by the reading *Dilmun*: the sign looks like *gìr*. P. 204, l. 19: western; or eastern[1]? P. 205: *Ardates* in one place of Polyhistor can hardly be used as a genuine witness to his name for the penultimate antediluvian king (and so equated to "Arad-gin"), for the Armenian of this excerpt from Polyhistor has Otiartes [< Opartes], and Polyhistor has Otiartes in another place according to all witnesses, and St. Cyril Alex. refers to Otiartes as penultimate king on the authority of Polyhistor. Note 14 to p. 210, Thompson [e] 43: read [d] 53. Note 13 to p. 340: Nerib near Aleppo (not Ḫarran). P. 344, Ḫabur [Šubaru] identified with Eridu: note that in de Genouillac, *Tab. de Dréhem*, AO. 5482, the places are distinguished (same mistake by me in *Orient*. vii, 51; rectified *Orient*., N.S., i, 235[1], with a suggestion on the relation between

[1] The abode of the Deluge hero, in the Babylonian tradition, as in the Sumerian, may well be Tilmun, and therefore on the *eastern* sea: cf. its description in Gilg. Epic, x, with the passage about Tilmun in 2 R 60, 6–9c (see Ebeling, *Tod und Leben*, p. 10).

the two places). P. 345, l. 18, Faithful Lord of the Tree: or Lord of the Faithful Tree? Note 16 to p. 357: CT. 16, 12 (not 121).

At the beginning of the valuable chapter on Etana, ᵈILLAD (ildu?), name in a king-list of Etana's son Baliḫ, is explained as *ildu* "he who was born", with reference to the birth that was the object of Etana's adventure (thus pseudo-ideogram: see now Langdon, *Legend of Etana*, 35[4]). But in Shalmaneser Mon. 2, 79 (3 R. 8, 79) *nār ILLAD-A* represents *nār Ba-li-ḫi* of Shalmaneser Ob. 54 [KB. i, 132] (Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins*, 151 [where there is a slip in transcription]), and it is not so likely that ILLAD here is a pseudo-ideogram in the sense proposed. Perhaps more probably ᵈILLAD, which elsewhere is designation of a god of a fairly definite character, is a name characterizing Baliḫ as a deified hero with a legend of his own: possibly as god of the *hunting-pack* (a probable meaning of ILLAD), a shepherd-hunter in the mountains, and hero of a legend in the valley of the Baliḫ: cf. the allusions to the mountain way which characterize the scene of the legend of Etana, and the dogs regularly associated with Etana on seals.

Suggested connections between Semitic Mythology and Christianity are the following. The veiling of the Cross in Passiontide is derived from the Babylonian New Year Ritual (p. 160). But some research has been made on the history of the Christian rite—apparently a *medieval* and *western* development (from the curtain separating the people, as penitents during Lent, from the altar). P. 341: the title "Our Lady" perhaps of Babylonian origin. But it seems to have come into use *about the twelfth century*, being popularized by St. Bernard, and due ultimately to the chivalric style of the troubadours. Much research would be necessary to trace the links with Babylon.

Babylonian mythology is much entangled with astronomy, and questions of uranography, which ramify into problems of extra-Babylonian cultures, are worth all the attention

that can be given them. In identification of the Babylonian constellations the author regularly follows Kugler, disregarding some rectifications that are widely accepted to-day: the *Swallow* is still Aquarius W. (instead of Pisces W.), and ᵏAPIN still Triangulum (instead of Cassiopeia). The implicit rejection of the identifications that appear to be most commonly accepted (e.g. in Weidner's well-known star-map, adopted both by Meissner, 1925, and Jeremias, 1929) may be disconcerting to non-astronomers (like myself), and one regrets that the learned author has not mentioned whatever reasons there may be. Again, note 48, p. 406—"the meaning 'rainbow' assigned to antiranna and marratu by many scholars is false"—would be valuable if reasons were given; it would correct Kugler and (so far as I know) *all* the more recent authors, and presumably would add something important to the generally known indications. ᵏDIL-GAN, ikû, is rendered *Canal Star* instead of *Field* or the like, which was the usual interpretation at the time of writing (*RA*, 1932, p. 24, which has now to be reckoned with, has further weakened the case for "Canal"). ᵏ*Gula*, the figure corresponding to that of our Aquarius, is taken to represent Anu, the sky-god. Something has gone wrong with the argument. The constellation is said (p. 96) to belong to the "Way of Anu". But this is not so: it is reckoned among the constellations of Ea: in fact this is one of the constellations of the Ea-group more particularly assigned to Ea (CT. 33, 3, 20). The note, explaining or correcting, observes that the Swallow, identified with Western Aquarius, belongs to the Way of Anu. But surely the attribution to Anu of a part of *our* Aquarius which the Babylonians distinguished from *their* figure of the water-pourer, will not prove the equation of *their* water-pourer to Anu. Perhaps *Gula* (the Great One) signifies (as Weidner has suggested) a *giant*-like water-pourer? Against the identification of ᵏ*gu-la* with ᵈgu-la, the great god Anu, is the lack of divine determinative. I cannot think that the

water-pouring "angel" on a monument from Ur can be the supreme god Anu. And is not the divinity beardless and probably feminine (cf. Legrain, *Museum Journal*, 1927, 77)?

P. 94 f., the three heavens are said to be "adorned" with jasper, *saggilmud* stone and *luludata* stone respectively. Note that the document simply *equates* the three heavens to these three stones. The question may be raised whether the more literal interpretation would not be correct. It is a little problem which has interest for the history of cosmology. Are *stone* vaults intended? It concerns also our understanding of the myth of Etana: the eagle could hardly fall through the three heavens if they were made of stone, but possibly we are to imagine rather a descent through the "gates", which are mentioned in the ascent (if a swerving bird-like descent, this might have a bearing on the question of Etana's survival).

Curious that for the later doctrine of seven heavens Professor Langdon cites nothing earlier than *Enoch*, for a Nippur text the publication of which we owe to Professor Langdon himself (*Bab. Exp.* 31, No. 60, ii, 19) already mentions seven heavens.

P. 94 (l. 20) ecliptic: equator? Ibid., "Yoke of the Wagon Star": the name thus quoted does not, I think, actually occur for Draco. Ibid., prayers to the polar stars [Draco and Great Bear] "as they rose by night": can they be said to have *risen*, even in the latitude of Uruk? Probably in the text alluded to *ittapha* means "shall have shone forth": likewise *ittaṣū* "have come forth".

P. 109, the omega-like thing represented on the Kudurrus is identified after Zimmern with the *markasu rabû* (great bond) of the "holy house" mentioned on the Nazimaruttaš kudurru in the Louvre. The identification is not quite certain (it is disregarded by so good an authority on the question as M. Contenau, *Manuel* (1931), 903): but there is a good case for Professor Langdon's option. I doubt, however, the further explanation of the object as (if I understand) a symbol of

the cosmic *principle* which unites all things ... for the sanction-figures on Kudurrus either are concrete emblems of particular gods or are constellations. Since the object naturally suggests a *yoke*, and was listed as such by Hinke, it may reasonably be taken for a stylized representation of the constellation (Draco) which was actually called the Yoke, and which must in fact have been seen as a somewhat omega-shaped yoke. The identification suits well the place of honour commonly occupied by the emblem : after the emblems of the three gods of the three divisions of the universe or of heaven might well be added that of the polar constellation. It supports also our author's identification with the *markasu rabū ša e-si-kil-la*, great bond of the pure house : all these terms are apt for the polar constellation : note its Sumerian name, musir (yoke)-kešda (bound), and the epithet *rabū* regularly applied to its divinity (or to the constellation itself ? cf. 5 R. 46, 12) ; and with the "pure house" as applied to the polar region of heaven may be compared "first son of the sublime house" as name of a pole star in CT. 33, 1, 21. Above all, the surprising fact that the omega or yoke is often upside-down on the Kudurrus is explained if the circumpolar "yoke" was the thing thought of.

P. 160, "star of the tablet" (α Tauri) related to the New Year feast according to Kugler, Ergänz. (1914), pp. 6, 218 : but note that Ergänz. (1924), 552, withdraws the suggestion.

In noticing errata and suggesting possible improvements I have ventured to unusual length because of the unusual importance of a work which treats with authority of a subject so widely interesting.

479. E. BURROWS.

Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar

No. 18. PRIVATE LIFE OF SHAHU AND THE PESHWAS. pp. vi + 106. 1931. 2*s.* 3*d.*
No. 19. PESHWA MADHAVRAO AT CROSS PURPOSES WITH HIS UNCLE RAGHUNATHRAO, 1761–1772. pp. vi + 121, map 1. 1931. 2*s.* 6*d.*
No. 20. THE BHONSLES OF NAGPUR, 1717–1774. pp. xii + 297, map 1. 1931. 5*s.* 9*d.*
No. 21. BALAJIRAO PESHWA AND EVENTS IN THE NORTH, 1741–1761. pp. iv + 222, pls. 4. 1932. 6*s.*
$9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$. Bombay: Government Central Press.

Volumes of this excellent series continue to issue, under the editorship of Mr. G. S. Sardesai, with commendable punctuality. The fact that the papers are published as they are examined accounts for a lack of collation and historical arrangement. The papers contained in No. 21, for example, relating to the activities of the Marathas in the North of India, cover the same subjects and much the same period as those that were contained in No. 2. This small drawback, however, is compensated for by the variety of the contents, from the domestic affairs of the second Peshwa, including the provision of dancing girls of the best type, and the shikar arrangements of that good sportsman, King Shahu, to the grim accounts of the fighting with the Abdali Ahmad Shah, at Panipat. The account of the Bhosles of Nagpur is of special value, as this Maratha family has never had full justice done to it. Of the same clan as the great Shivaji, they were largely instrumental in the restoration of his grandson Shahu to the Maratha throne, and they were his natural successors when he was about to die childless. Mr. Sardesai considers that Raghuji Bhosle realized that the Peshwa was alone capable of handling the critical position, and therefore acquiesced in the succession of the probably spurious Ram Raja in place of the adoption of one of his own sons. It is more generally believed that Raghuji was out-witted and out-manœuvred

by the cunning Brahman. Raghuji afterwards conquered Bengal and levied the *Chauth* there. The demands of his sons upon the English for the continuance of this payment after 1765 were firmly resisted, but it is interesting to conjecture what would have happened if the Peshwa had supported Javoji Bhosle and his brothers instead of attacking them. As in the case of Holkar and Sindhia, the Peshwa preferred to humble the Maratha generals and to play them off against each other, rather than to unite them for the aggrandisement of the Maratha Empire. The Bhosles at least deserve credit for the establishment of orderly government in the country round Nagpur, almost the only part of India where the Marathas improved the administration.

A recent English writer has accused British historians of an anti-Maratha bias. No one, however, can read these letters without realizing how generally the Marathas were detested by Rajputs and Mahomedans alike, and how this was due to their predatory habits. As a result, many of the Chiefs of Northern India assisted the Afghans against them, with the consequence of terrible pillage and massacre. On the other hand, the reader must recognize the courage and national feeling of the Marathas which constantly re-united them to face great odds. If they failed at Panipat, it was largely because the claims on their fighting strength were too great, and they were obliged to employ mercenary troops and to depart from their traditional methods of warfare.

551, 552, 553, 611. P. R. CADELL.

ASSUMPCAM'S BENGALI GRAMMAR. Facsimile Reprint of the Original Portuguese with Bengali Translation and Selections from his Bengali–Portuguese Vocabulary. Edited and translated, with Introduction, by S. H. CHATTERJI and P. SEN. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 260. Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1931.

Apart from the prose passages in the Śūnyapurāṇa and some other passages in various Vaiṣṇava works, the earliest

extant specimens of Bengali prose are, curiously enough, not Hindu but Christian productions. About the end of the sixteenth century the Portuguese missionaries in Bengal began to produce Bengali works written in a Romanized script. Three specimens of this literature have been preserved.

(1) *Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbhed* (*Kṛpār Śāstrer Arthabhed*) a translation from the Portuguese by Padre Manoel da Assumpção, a missionary stationed at Bhawāl in East Bengal. This work gives instruction in the Christian faith as taught by the Roman Catholic Church. One copy of it is preserved in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and there is a second copy in Portugal at Evora.

(2) A dialogue on the Christian religion written probably about the end of the seventeenth century by a Bengali convert to Christianity, who had taken the name of Antonio de Rozario. A copy of this work is preserved at Evora.

(3) A Bengali-Portuguese vocabulary with a short compendium of Bengali grammar by Padre Manoel da Assumpção, which was printed at Lisbon in 1743. There are two copies of this work in the British Museum.

Professors Chatterji and Sen have given us the original text of the first part of this last-named work (xi + 40 pages) up to the end of the grammar, with a Bengali translation on the opposite page. There is also a selection (97 pages) of a considerable number of the more interesting words from the vocabulary itself, with a Bengali transliteration of the Romanized Bengali words and a Bengali translation of the Portuguese words. The introduction by Professor Chatterji discusses, amongst other subjects, the literary work of the Portuguese missionaries, their system of writing Bengali in Roman characters, and some of the most interesting variations between the grammatical forms referred to in the grammar and the forms at present in use. Appended to the introduction is a series of extracts from *Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbhed*. There are also three photographic plates, showing the title-page and

two pages from the Grammar and two pages from the Vocabulary.

Students of the history of the Bengali language will be very grateful to Professors Chatterji and Sen for the labour they have spent upon this work, and will be hoping that its appearance will suggest to them or to some other competent scholar the desirability of reproducing at an early date the whole text of *Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbhed*, and of Antonio de Rozario's *Dialogue*, so that it may be possible to discover, even more exactly than this book enables us to do, the form of Bengali that was in use in East Bengal two hundred years or more ago.

557. W. SUTTON PAGE.

THE ORGAN OF THE ANCIENTS FROM EASTERN SOURCES (HEBREW, SYRIAC, AND ARABIC). By HENRY GEORGE FARMER. Preface by Rev. Canon F. W. Galpin. 9 × 5¾, pp. xxxi + 105, pls. 3, ills. 16. London : William Reeves, 1931. 15*s*. 6*d*.

In this work the author tries to trace the origin of the organ from its earliest mention through Oriental sources. For the Hebrew and Syriac literature the references are few, and in addition the identification very doubtful as no definite details are given to give a clue as to the construction of the instruments referred to. With Arabic literature we get on somewhat firmer ground and Farmer translates into English the treatise on the hydraulic organ attributed to a certain Greek author whose name figures in all preserved manuscripts in the form Mūrisṭūs. I have not been able to get any further than the scholars whom the author has consulted in identifying this mysterious mechanic, to whom also is attributed a treatise upon the construction of bells. It is strange that though the work has come down to us in several manuscripts, we find to my knowledge not the slightest indication in historical literature of the Arabs that such an instrument was ever in

use. As Islām does not know what we may call Church music, and music in general was abhorred by the pious as detracting from devotion, such instruments could only have been used in the palaces and homes of the rich for the entertainment of friends. I even wonder if such an instrument was ever constructed. Perhaps, as far as the Arabs were concerned, scientists contented themselves with copying the book and theoretically working out the possibility of its manipulation. Maybe that the mechanical toys of the Banū Mūsā too were only theoretical and not practical. Anyhow, it is strange that not one of such instruments has survived. Maybe that the pious, whose diversion was the smashing of musical instruments, have been successful in getting every one out of the way.

The contents of this work are of such technical intricacy and so admirably solved by the author that it would be presumption to offer any criticism. It is only by the expert knowledge of the author that a correct translation of the text has been possible. Of historical importance is that he has proved conclusively that Charlemagne never received an organ from the caliph Hārūn ar-Rashīd. I fear, however, that the tale will continue to be repeated for several hundred years, like that of the destruction of the Alexandrian library and the libraries of Baghdad by the Mongols.

I wish I could add to my words of appreciation, but Dr. Spies has pointed out to me that there is yet another manuscript of the treatise of Mūristūs in the library of the Ayā Sofia (the two manuscripts, Nos. 2407 and 2755, contain the three treatises on the hydraulic organ, the pneumatic organ, and on the bells). The figures on the ancient castle of Ghumdān in Ṣan'ā', which the author mentions, were of another nature. They were figures of lion-heads with open mouths and had some arrangement inside by which they uttered a loud sound when the wind blew into the mouths. These figures have disappeared long since (v. *Iklīl* ed. Anastase).

278. F. KRENKOW.

A History of Arabian Music to the Thirteenth Century. By Henry George Farmer. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xv + 264, pls. 3. London: Luzac and Co., 1929. 15s.

In the *Ḥilyat al-Auliyā'* (MS. Faiziyeh 1437) a tradition is recorded that 'Abdallāh ibn 'Umar went a walk along the high road with Nāfi', when unawares they came upon a shepherd who was playing a reed-flute. 'Abdallāh immediately put his fingers in both ears and went far off the road with Nāfi', asking him to let him know as soon as the dreadful sound could not be heard any longer. He said: "Thus I have seen the Prophet, whom God bless, do on a similar occasion." It does seem strange that a history of the music of a people is possible at all, when, according to religious teaching music is a hateful diversion. Yet the pages of Farmer's work reveal that not only music was tolerated, but even flourished and exercised a great influence upon other nations. It is very fortunate that in the author we have not only an Arabic scholar, but also a competent musician, both in theory and practice, and to review his work by anyone who does not possess both qualities is rather hazardous. I believe that the author has not left any available source untouched to make his record as complete as possible, but this has lead him in many cases to be only too brief. I am with the author in his assertion that the music of the Arabs is indigenous and not due, and as often stated entirely, to Persian influence. If an-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith brought the Persian mode of music from al-Ḥīra to Mecca it was only to supplement the art in some way, as it existed in Mecca from times unknown. The importance of the Persians is so often and has so long been overrated that it is continually asserted without being proved. So much seems to be certain that the earlier singers almost without exception came from Arabian soil. With the advent of the 'Abbāsī caliphs undoubtedly, together with the ancient Persian vices and dishonesty in State administration, also Persian music was afforded greater scope. But as we do not

know anything concerning the melodies nor the difference between the two classes of music, we are also at a loss to separate one from the other. To assert from the names of the artists that they sang or played according to one style or the other, if they differed at all, is to set up theories for which there is no foundation. The author has not attempted such a thing, and perhaps from his theoretical knowledge of the art he is almost alone in this case to form a sound judgment on the subject. The book is not only a history of music, but supplements Nicholson's *Literary History of the Arabs* in placing before us a picture of Muhammadan civilization to the fall of Baghdad. I believe there is not one name omitted, whether of musicians or of patrons of music during the six centuries with which the volume deals. This has had one disadvantage, namely that the author has not been able to give us many details of the lives of the artists, as he could have done, and I hope that in a second edition of the work he will enlarge upon the lives of the most important exponents of the art. The great merit of the book is that the proper names of musicians, their instruments, etc., are given in their correct spelling, as these are so often found in almost unrecognizable forms in works dealing with the history of music. Only on one point I must take exception, especially as it is a point which affects also other English works on Eastern history. As a relic of the times when Oriental works were first translated into Latin the names of dynasties are formed by adding fraction of the Latin plural *id* to the end of the name of an ancestor or something similar. We are fairly familiar with the Abbasides and Omajades (so generally in handbooks on history), but a string of such names as on p. 186 will prove that something is wrong, especially when we find al-Murawid (al-Murābiṭūn) on p. 222, etc. Nobody would write Hohenzollerides, Bourbonides, Hanoverides, etc. I mention this to show the absurdity of the thing in which the author follows only a common practice.

A great feature of the work is also the registration of almost

all known Arabic works upon music, which will enable competent scholars to pursue their studies further.

Without detracting from the merit of the work I want to make a few remarks upon some points. On p. 88 on the authority of Evliyā Chelebī a tale is told about a certain 'Amr ibn Umayya, who had been present at the wedding of Fāṭima. It is palpable that this man did not exist at all. A similar tale was told by a certain Abu-d-Dunya, who appeared some time after the year 600 of the Hijra in Baghdād and claimed to be so many centuries old and also to have been present at the same wedding, and he too could describe all the musical instruments played upon that occasion. Dahabī in the *Mīzān al-I'tidāl* calls him a brazen-faced liar and impostor. A strange slip is in note 1 on p. 32, the words in brackets being omitted: You must compare the sayings attributed [to me] with the Qur'an, etc. On p. 57 Qand, Find, and Fand (the latter is said to be correct) are one and the same person. On p. 127 the author says that the philosopher al-Kindī was of noble descent. I fear that here the author is misled by the notion that because the tribe of Kinda in the time before Islam boasted of several chieftains who were rulers of the Central Arabian tribes, the philosopher belonged to them. The family of al-Kindī were much simpler folk. They were Christians and resided in the quarter of al-Baṣra, named after the tribe of Kinda. The grandfather of Ya'qūb, the philosopher, was a prosperous dealer in jewels who made journeys to Ceylon to buy rubies, so Bērūnī tells us in his *Book of Precious Stones*, and the same trade was followed by Ya'qūb. As the work is the first authoritative account of Arabian music it should soon require a second edition, which it is to be hoped will carry the studies a little further. In the chronicle of Ibn Iyās I found a statement that Sultan Qanṣūh imported singers in the Arabian fashion to Cairo, but they were no success.

Printers' errors are very few and of little consequence to the non-Orientalist and easily rectified by Arabists. I give

a few: p. xii, read Ḥajar instead of Ḥijr; p. 52, 'Abd al-Mun'im; p. 127, read Biṭrīq; p. 128, note 8, read Maghriq, ix, 444; on p. 204, the author informs me, unfortunately the *maqāma* Iṣfahān has been omitted; p. 205, read Gharībat al-Muḥarrar.

279. F. KRENKOW.

SELECTIONS FROM THE WORKS OF SU TUNG-P'O (A.D. 1026–1101). Translated into English with Introduction, Notes, and Commentaries, by CYRIL DRUMMOND LE GROS CLARK, Secretary for Chinese Affairs, Sarawak; and wood engravings by AVERIL SALMOND LE GROS CLARK. The foreword by EDWARD CHALMERS WERNER, H.B.M. Consul Foochow (retired). 10 × 7, pp. 180, wood engravings 19. London: Jonathan Cape, 1931. £1 1*s.*

A CHINESE MARKET. Lyrics from the Chinese in English Verse, by HENRY H. HART, A.B. Foreword by E. T. C. WERNER. 9½ × 6, pp. xiv + 106. Peking: The French Bookstore; San Francisco: John J. Newbiggin, 1931.

CHINESE POEMS IN ENGLISH RHYME. By Admiral TS'AI T'ING-KAN. Foreword by L. T. CHÊN. 9 × 7, pp. xxii + 146. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932. 20*s.*

These three books, which I will treat in the order of their publication, illustrate three entirely different modes of translation. It is a pity that we in our English speech do not express the differentiation preserved by the French between the words *version* and *traduction*. A *version*, according to the article *Traduction* in the *Encyclopédie*, denotes a literal rendering of a text, a rendering in which beauty of style is in no wise considered, desired, or required. A *traduction* is, however, expected to be a literary product, exact of course, but in the spirit rather than the letter of the original.

This differentiation is hardly recognized in English—or in German for the matter of that—which is a pity. Works under-

taken from entirely different points of view are all dubbed "translations", and are all judged by the same standards. The whole issue is thereby confused. Works on the art of translation are apt to confine themselves to the æsthetic point of view, and ignore the wider question as to whether or not the letter of an author's meaning has been brought over into the foreign language.

In *Selections from the Works of Su Tung-p'o*, Mr. Le Gros Clark has made a *traduction*—I use the word in the French sense—and it is therefore as a *traduction*, not a *version* that the book should be judged. And very lovely it is. The style is smooth and rhythmic, and the spirit of Su Tung-p'o is finely interpreted.

These renderings of his famous prose poems are true to the spirit and sense, if not to the idiom of the Chinese. I long to quote typical extracts, but each selection forms a whole which would only be marred by dissection. I can therefore but urge all readers, who are in any way interested in Chinese thought, to lose themselves in these fine translations from the works of a poet whose love of Nature amounted to a passion.

Su Tung-p'o was a famous statesman, but his chief preoccupation was the cultivation of a mood beautifully expressed in *The Pavilion to Glad Rain*. "My Pavilion was named Rain to celebrate Happiness," so the poem opens—to my readers I leave discovery of its exquisite ending.

A Chinese Market cannot be classed as a *traduction*, and certainly not as a *version*. It is difficult indeed to say just how the book should be classed. Nowhere is it definitely described as a "translation", yet from internal evidence one infers that the author intends it to be judged as such.

The writer of the foreword describes Mr. Hart as "a poet's poet", and possibly this is the reason that Mr. Hart has felt free to add, in the English rendering, all that a Chinese poem suggests to him. In my opinion, even in *traduction* this is inadmissible.

Take, for instance, poem 46—anyone of the fifty included

in the collection would illustrate my point equally as well. The text reads :—

亭口

林下翩〃雁影斜
滿村紅葉映人家
巖頭孤寺見橫閣
有客獨來登暮霞

Ideograph for Ideograph this can be translated :—

line 1. trees; beneath; flutter; flutter; wild geese; shadows; oblique.

line 2. overflowing; village; red; leaves; shine on; men's; houses.

line 3. precipice; peak; lonely; temple; see; crosswise; log-road.

line 4. There is; traveller; alone; come; climbs; sunset; clouds tinged red.

To me this text suggests a series of very vivid pictures. I see, with the inner eye, the distorted shadows of the wild geese; the little village buried in glowing trees; an isolated temple perched on the edge of nothingness; a mountain road made of logs, called by the Chinese *ko* 閣, drawing its horizontal line to the temple gate; and lastly a solitary traveller nearing in the evening glow the shrine he seeks, his heart lifting with joy at the fulfilment of his desire. These pictures are for myself alone: I should never presume to impose them, in translation, upon the Chinese poet Wên T'ung, author of the poem.

To Mr. Hart the pictures suggested are quite different, and he describes them all :—

SUNSET

Wên T'ung

Mid the lengthening shadows of the trees,
In the dark forest, under the hill,
Clamorous, the wild-geese flit to and fro,
Bird calling unto bird, with piping shrill.

The roofs of the town, far out on the plain,
Gleam like autumn leaves in the sunset glow;
To a lonely shrine, perched high on the cliff,
Climbs a weary priest, from the vale below.

Now my point is this: because a Chinese poem by virtue of its terseness is capable of many interpretations, and because it is no function of the translator to interpolate ideas purely his own, *he should confine himself as strictly as possible to the text*. What *I* imagine or what Mr. Hart imagines in regard to the connotations of Poem 46 is unimportant. There is but one matter of moment. What does Wên T'ung, the author, say ?

Throughout the book Mr. Hart weaves long verses around a few terse lines of text, verses which may or may not express the ideas of the Chinese poet from whose writing brush the original characters dropped long years ago. Hence I contend *A Chinese Market* cannot be considered as either a *version* or a *traduction* from the Chinese, but as a collection of stanzas suggested to a sensitive Western mind by long reading of Chinese poetry.

Admiral Ts'ai T'ing-kan, whose delightful personality charms all fortunate enough to meet him, has set himself a very definite task. He explains it clearly in his Preface. He will render Chinese poems in English rhyme. He says :—

In translating these poems the rule followed was that each Chinese word be equal to one foot or two syllables in English. Thus, in poems of five Chinese words in each line the pentameter

was used. In poems of seven words in the line, the hexameter was generally used. There are a few exceptions to the foregoing rules.

The prevailing meter is iambic. Elisions have been avoided as far as possible so as not to mar the words, giving the readers the credit of knowing how to treat the words to suit the rhythm in the scanning and reading of the translations. An exception exists in poem No. 119 where the word occurs twice. In the third line " flow'rs " has an elision, making it one syllable to fit into the rhythm of the verse, while for the same reason " flowers " in the fourth line is unaltered, retaining its two syllables . . .

. . . . . .

I have not followed the Chinese order of rhyme which generally begins in the first line, followed by the second and fourth, or begins in the second and followed by the fourth. The forms I have employed are the rhyming couplets and alternative rhymes to avoid the frequent repetition of the same sound which may tire the ear. The rhymes are masculine and are perfect as far as I am aware. The rhymes in these translations grow out of the words expressed or out of the sense implied. For instance, in the third line of poem No. 77, " set " is implied or understood by the morning moon having been so low down as to be in a line with the house and trees, while " yet ", the rhyming word, is expressed by the Chinese words 未曾 *wei ts'êng* " not yet ", the exact English equivalent . . .

Now whether by donning this heavy harness of technique —a harness be it noted quite unlike the one assumed by a Chinese poet, and one which fetters him at every turn— Admiral Ts'ai succeeds in giving a more faithful rendering of the Chinese poem than he would have done had he been able to think more of the Chinese thought, and less of the English rhyme, is purely a matter of opinion.

Admittedly a Chinese poem translated into prose or unrhymed cadence loses enormously. The thought expressed may be its soul, but the body of its individuality lies in the

rhyme scheme and tone pattern. These, unfortunately, are impossible to reproduce in a polysyllabic tongue. In Chinese *lü shih* the rhyme comes at the end of five or seven *syllables*. Were we to write

> Cat, dog, pig, and hen,
> All are friends of men

we would have the monosyllables and the rhyme of a Chinese poem, but even then where would be the tones, those marvellous tones wherein the magic of Chinese poetry lies? No the indigenous metrical form cannot be rendered, so why use one foreign to its being? Why force Chinese ideas into European dress? They lose vastly masquerading thus—at least so it seems to me.

Turn to the exquisite lyric by Ch'iu Wei on page 9:—

左掖梨花
冷艷全欺雪
餘香乍入衣
春風且莫定
吹向玉階飛

In translation the text reads :—

LEFT PALACE PEAR BLOSSOMS

line 1. cold; beauty; completely; derides; snow.
line 2. superabundant; scent; envelopes; man's; robe;
line 3. Spring; wind; should; sunset; cease;
line 4. Blown; towards; jade; stairway; fly.

The translation by Admiral Ts'ai runs :—

PEAR-BLOSSOMS IN THE PALACE

> Thy spotless beauty puts to shame the snow,
> Thy perfume through the royal robe shall go.
> Uncertain tho' may seem the winds of spring,
> Thy petals waft directly to the King!

The following commentary appears on page 124 :—

Poem No. 9.—The third line also means that the imperial favor is never certain, as varying as the winds of the spring, and many are the rivals at court, with cunning schemes to supplant a good man, but a loyal minister should be guided by loyalty alone and serve the emperor in a straightforward course. *Yü ch'ieh* 玉 階 is jade or marble steps—meant for the emperor, as "the Throne" is used for the sovereign—a metonymy.

I cannot help thinking that possibly Chinese ideas of strict propriety have hampered Admiral Ts'ai in his explanation. "Pear-blossom" is a euphemistic term generally used by Chinese poets to describe a member of the royal harem. In this case the lady is in all probability not certain of royal favour. It is, of course, not impossible that a statesman is referred to. The exigencies of verse probably force Admiral Ts'ai to use the word "king" instead of the charming Chinese expression "jade steps". Throughout the book one finds similar examples of charming ideas and fascinating figures sacrificed to form.

In thus expressing my own predilection for idiomatic *version* irrespective of metre, I would in no way minimize the fine piece of work Admiral Ts'ai has accomplished. He has toiled faithfully and patiently for years and years to produce in English form smooth readings of the poems he loves; he has added valuable commentaries, and historical notes as well as comparative chronological tables, while the book contains a representative collection of Chinese five and seven character *lü shih*, of the T'ang and Sung dynasties.

481, 706, 723. FLORENCE AYSCOUGH.

THE PRISMS OF ESARHADDON AND ASHURBANIPAL FOUND AT NINEVEH, 1927–8. By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON. 12¾ × 8¾, pp. 37, pls. 18. London: British Museum, 1931. 10s.

During the excavations carried on by R. Campbell Thompson and R. W. Hutchinson in the ruins of Nineveh in the winter of 1927–8, on behalf of the British Museum, two prisms with inscriptions in the cuneiform character were found, of which the first one with an inscription of Esarhaddon comes from a locality not far from Quyūngiq, at a spot where Sennacherib of Assyria had built a home for his son, and the second with an inscription of Ashurbanipal was discovered in fragments beneath the level of the flooring of the south-east door of the temple of Nabū at Quyūngiq. Both have now entered the British Museum and add two remarkable pieces to its rich collection of Assyrian and Babylonian antiquities.

The prism of Esarhaddon, Th. 1929-10-12, 1, is nearly complete, as only very few signs are wanting, and restores the text of the fragments of a duplicate prism published by Scheil in Paris in 1914. It gives us the story of the accession of Esarhaddon to the throne of Assyria and of his wars, without, however, bringing nearer to its solution in an appreciable manner the puzzling problem of the murder of Sennacherib. Dr. Thompson, who gives us in this book, edited by the Trustees of the British Museum, an excellent transliteration and translation of both prisms, followed by a very clear and neat autographic copy of their text on eighteen plates, discusses the problem of the murder of Sennacherib briefly in the short introduction on pp. 7–8, and comes to the conclusion that it was Esarhaddon himself who was at the head of the conspiracy against his own father and instigated the murder. There are, no doubt, among the arguments adduced by Dr. Campbell Thompson some rather strong ones in favour of this conclusion—the most important is that there is in the whole text absolutely no allusion, not even the

slightest, to the murder of the king by one or more of his sons, older brothers of Esarhaddon. I do not think that even the words in c. i, 41-2, *mimma ša eli ilāni u amēlūti lā ṭāb epušūma* can be construed as a reference to the murder (against Meissner in *SPAW*. of last year, whose discussion of the whole question is very thorough and cautious)—but the other sources, independent, no doubt, from official Assyrian historiography, point clearly in the opposite direction, that is to say, that Sennacherib was murdered by one or two of his sons, not his successor on the throne. Besides that Ardumuzanu (Berosos) is not a corruption of Aššur-aḫ-iddin, but apparently of the Assyrian name corresponding to the Hebrew name of Adrammelech.

The prism of Ashurbanipal, Th. 1929–10–12. 2, deals for the most part with the building and religious activities of the king.

I have only a few remarks to make on the translation of the prisms.

In the prism of Esarhaddon, v, 25, with *(ilu)Šamši* Esarhaddon himself, of course, is meant. The line should be rendered therefore with "Whither can the fox go in front of the Sun" (i.e. Esarhaddon)?

vi, 37: The sprinkling with *kurunnu* and wine is made on the *šallaru* and the *kalakku* of the palace. Thompson translates those two terms by circling wall and cellar. But *šallaru* is the plaster or plaster wall, as has been proved by Sidney Smith, *RA*., xxi, 78, 79; cf. also Jensen in *OLZ*., xxxiii, 883. *Kalakku* has three or four different meanings, but I think it must here mean something very similar to plaster or plaster wall. Cellar does not suit our context.

In the prism of Ashurbanipal, i. 11, and other passages, *parakku* has certainly the original meaning of seat or throne, and not of palace.

636. GIUSEPPE FURLANI.

The thanks of the Society are also due for the following volumes :—

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA (SOUTHERN RECENSION). Ed. by P. P. S. SASTRI. 1932.

JAPAN UND DIE JAPANER. By K. HAUSHOFER.

A SHORT HISTORY OF KASHMIR. From the earliest times to the present day. (The first of its kind; third edition.) By P. GWASHA LAL. 1932.

YAMANA-ENGLISH. A Dictionary of the Speech of Tierra del Fuego. By the Rev. THOMAS BRIDGES. 1933.

DIE KAISERLICHEN ERLASSE DES SHOKU-NIHONGI. By HERBERT ZACHERT.

THE PROVERBS OF SOLOMON IN SAHIDIC COPTIC, ACCORDING TO THE CHICAGO MANUSCRIPT. Ed. by WILLIAM H. WORRELL. The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, Vol. XII.

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF THE LATE DASTUR DARAB PESHOTAN SANJANA, B.A., Ph.D., J.P., Principal Sir Jamshedje Jijibhoy Zarathushti Madressa, Bombay. 1932.

KONKÔKYÔ: DIE LEHRE VON KONKÔ. By Dr. PHIL WILHELM ROTH.

THE ETHIOPIC TEXT OF THE BOOK OF ECCLESIASTES. Ed. by SAMUEL A. B. MERCER.

VIJĀRISHN I CHATRANG, or The Explanation of Chatrang and other Texts. By J. C. TARAPORE. Sir Jamshetjee Jejeebhoy Translation Fund. The Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet Funds. Bombay. 1932.

THE MIRROR OF EGYPT IN THE OLD TESTAMENT. By V. L. TRUMPER.

NÔGAKU: JAPANESE NÔ PLAYS. By BEATRICE LANE SUZUKI.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

11th May, 1933

In the unavoidable absence of the President, Professor D. S. Margoliouth, M.A., F.B.A., D.Litt., Director, took the chair.

The proceedings opened with the reading and confirmation of the Minutes of the last Anniversary General Meeting of 12th May, 1932, the election of five candidates for membership of the Society and the nomination of three others for election at the next General Meeting.

Report of the Council for 1932–3 and Accounts for 1932

It is with deep regret that we have to call attention to the great loss sustained by the Society since last May by the death of two distinguished Orientalists.

Professor A. H. Sayce, one of our Honorary Vice-Presidents, was attracted to Oriental lore as a schoolboy in 1859, when he began to learn Egyptian hieroglyphics and the Assyrian alphabet. But his chief interest was in the elucidation of Hittite hieroglyphics. He had been an active member of the Society since 1874 and was writing a review for the Journal during his last illness.

In Lieut.-Col. J. Stephenson, I.M.S., whose grasp of detail and great capacity for work enabled him to specialize in the uncharted field of Oriental botany, the Society has lost a very valuable authority on a little known subject. In his capacity of Zoologist he was a Fellow of the Royal Society and Lecturer at Edinburgh University, while as an Orientalist he translated and edited many MSS. at the British Museum and India Office.

The Council further regrets the death of the undermentioned members during the past session :—

Hon. Member :—

Dr. Sir J. Jamshedji Modi.

Ordinary Members :—

Major A. D. Molony.

Mr. H. W. Sheppard.

Ma'sud Ali Varesi Sahib.

The following members have resigned :—

Mr. K. V. S. Aiyer.
Khan Sahib Farzand Ali.
Mr. F. Anderson.
Rev. J. P. Bruce.
Prof. R. P. Chanda.
Dr. H. Chatley.
Mr. J. I. David.
Mr. G. R. Driver.
Mrs. C. Edwards.
Capt. A. G. C. Fane.
Major W. J. Freer.
Mr. C. C. Garbett.
Mr. H. F. Hamdani.
H.E. Mirza Eissa Khan.
Rao Bahadur Sirdar M. V. Kibe.
Mrs. Latta.
Mr. T. M. Lowji.
Miss A. D. Macfie.
Rev. W. MacGregor.
Miss Meadowcroft.
Khan Bahadur A. M. Muhammad.
Mr. S. Buta Ram.
Rai Bahadur D. Ropmay.
Mr. H. A. Rose.
Mr. W. J. S. Sallaway.
Lieut.-Col. R. C. F. Schomberg
H.H. the Ranee of Sarawak.
Pt. N. V. Shastri.
Prof. F. Md. Shuja.
Mrs. G. Swinton.
Mr. L. F. Taylor.
Mr. S. N. Tahir Rizwi.
Mr. C. G. C. Trench.
Mr. E. H. C. Walsh.

The following have taken up their election :—

As Resident Members

Mr. O. H. Bedford, L.R.I.B.A.
Mr. J. Heyworth Dunne.
Lady Ginwala.

As Non-Resident Members

Mr. H. D. A. Alwis.
Mr. A. J. Arberry.
Capt. H.H. the Nawab of Bahawalpur.
Mr. I. M. Banerjee, M.B.
Prof. N. C. Banerji, M.A.
Rev. E. J. Bolus, M.A., B.D., I.C.S.
Mr. T. Burrow, B.A.
Mr. T. C. V. Chariar.
S. Pt. C. B. D. Chaturvedi.
Mr. K. D. Chaudhary, B.Sc C.E., M.I.B.E.
Mr. S. D. P. Gyani.
Saikh Hasan.
Syed Masud Hasan.

Rev. E. S. Hunt.
Mr. K. K. Kaul, M.A.
Mr. Z. H. Khan, B.A.
Mr. Md. A. H. Khan.
Miss V. T. Lakshmi, M.A., L.T.
Mr. R. L. McCulloch I.P.S. (ret.)
Prince P. H. Mamour, LL.B.
Miss R. B. L. Mathur, B.A., L.T.
Mr. A. V. K. Menon.
Pt. K. L. Misra.
Mr. E. L. C. Mudaliar.
Lt. Maharaj S. S. Naharsinhji, Saheb Bahadur of Chhota Udepur.
Mr. B. S. Naidu, M.C.P.S.
Capt. L. H. Niblett, A.I.R.O., B.A., J.P.
Mr. N. P. Nigam.
Pt. G. S. Parashari.
Mr. N. E. Parry, I.C.S. (ret.)
Mr. N. L. Rajpal, M.A.
Mr. S. S. A. Rizwi.
Mr. R. des Rotours.
Rev. J. C. Ryan.
Mr. G. C. Saha, M.Inst.P.I.
Sheikh G. Md. Sani, B.A., B.Com.
Mr. Kaviraj H. C. Sen.
Mr. M. H. Shah.
Dewan A. A. Sharar.
Thakur K. N. Singh, B.A., C.S.U.P.
Mr. K. P. Srivastava, B.A., LL.B.
Mr. G. L. Watson, I.C.S.

As Non-Resident Compounders

Prof. J. C. Ghatak.
Mr. U. S. Shrivastav, B.A., LL.B.

As a Student Member

Miss. C. L. H. Geary.

As a Library Member

Sir Charles Bell, K.C.I.E., C.M.G., F.R.G.S.

Under Rule 25*a*, fifty-seven persons have ceased to be members of the Society owing to non-payment of subscriptions.

The membership of the Society shows, of necessity, an ever fluctuating figure. Fresh members are always joining and others are being lost through the vicissitudes and economics of life. The number of members during the past year was reduced approximately from 795 to 750, though subscriptions are still coming in and the fall in membership

will not be as great as it now appears. The receipts for the year came to £3,581, and the corresponding payments to £3,215, though the figure given above for receipts includes certain sums which refer to delayed payments and which should rightly have been credited in the previous year.

Lectures.—The following lectures have been delivered during the past season: they were almost all illustrated by lantern slides.

"The Excavation of Jericho," by Professor John Garstang, of the University of Liverpool.

"Points from a New Collection of Eastern Manuscripts," by Dr. A. Mingana, Librarian of the Oriental MSS. in John Rylands Library. Manchester.

"Wabar, and the Empty Quarter of Arabia," by H. St. J. B. Philby, who has lived and travelled in Arabia for many years.

"The British Museum Excavation at Nineveh, 1931-2," by Dr. R. Campbell Thompson, who was in charge of the work on behalf of the British Museum.

"The Decadent Races of Annam: Chams and Mois," by Mme. Gabrielle Vassal, Legion of Honour.

"Megalithic Burials in South India," by E. H. Hunt, M.D.

"The Revival of the Hebrew Language and Literature in Palestine: A Hebrew Vernacular," by I. A. Abbady, Chief Hebrew Interpreter to the Government of Palestine.

"Some Population Problems in Asia," by Sir Charles Close, K.B.E., etc., President of the International Union for the Investigation of Population Problems.

"A Secret of the Summer Palace, Peking," by Sir Reginald Johnston, K.C.M.G., etc., who was Comptroller of the Summer Palace and its Adjacent Estates and Tutor to the Imperial Family.

"Sa'ûdian Arabia," by Capt. C. C. Lewis, who was attached to the Foreign Office Staff in Arabia.

"Marco Polo's Quinsai: The Splendid Capital of the

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
SUBSCRIPTIONS—						
Resident Members	252	0	0			
Non-Resident Members	805	19	0			
Non-Resident Compounders	39	0	0			
Students and Miscellaneous	20	0	5			
				1,116	19	5
RENTS RECEIVED				749	0	0
GRANTS—						
Government of India 1931	315	0	0			
" " 1932	210	0	0			
Government of Federated Malay States	40	0	0			
" Straits Settlements	20	0	0			
" Hongkong	25	0	0			
				610	0	0
SUNDRY DONATIONS						
Princess Handjéri	175	0	0			
Other	19	19	0			
				194	19	0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Subscriptions	515	8	1			
Additional Copies sold	110	16	5			
Pamphlets sold		18	1			
				627	2	7
DIVIDENDS				92	17	9
CENTENARY VOLUME SALES				1	14	0
CENTENARY SUPPLEMENT SALES				1	2	8
COMMISSION ON SALE OF BOOKS				7	8	3
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNT				9	10	9
REDEMPTION OF 4½% TREASURY BONDS				132	16	3
SALE OF OLD BOOKS				16	19	6
BONUS ON CONVERSION OF 5% WAR LOAN				3	10	0
SUNDRY RECEIPTS				17	4	6
BALANCE IN HAND 31ST DECEMBER, 1931				607	17	4
				£4,189	2	0

INVESTMENTS.

£350 3½ per cent War Loan.
£1,426 1s. 10d. Local Loans 3 per cent Stock.
£777 1s. 1d. 4 per cent Funding Stock 1960–90.

PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1932

PAYMENTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
House Account—						
Rent and Land Tax	502	3	1			
Rates, less contributed by Tenants	30	3	9			
Gas and Light, do.	64	9	0			
Coal and Coke, do.	43	9	8			
Telephone	10	5	5			
Cleaning	6	15	0			
Insurance	35	6	6			
Repairs and renewals	4	6	3			
				696	18	8
Leasehold Redemption Fund				20	10	6
Salaries and Wages				774	18	4
Printing and Stationery				57	14	7
Journal Account—						
Printing	1,104	16	6			
Postage	70	0	0			
				1,174	16	6
Library Expenditure				252	4	1
General Postage				66	14	2
Audit Fee (including Taxation work)				10	10	0
Sundry Expenses—						
Teas	28	12	10			
Lectures	64	9	6			
National Health and Unemployment Insurance	22	11	8			
Other General Expenditure	45	15	0			
				161	9	0
Balance of Cash in Hand at 31st December, 1932						
At Bank on Current Account . 366 9 1						
" " Deposit Account . 100 0 0						
At Post Office Savings Bank . 500 0 0						
	966	9	1			
Cash in Hand	6	17	1			
				973	6	2
				£4,189	2	0

Note: £250 of this £973 6*s.* 2*d.* represents the unexpended balance of the Grant received from the Carnegie Trust.

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with th books and vouchers of the Society, and have verified the Investment therein described, and hereby certify the said Abstract to be tru and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

Countersigned { L. C. HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council.
E. A. GAIT, Auditor for the Society.

15th March, 1933.

SPECIAL FUNDS

Oriental Translation Fund

1932.	Receipts	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	1932.	Payments	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Jan. 1.	Balance		175 11 0		Binding Vol. VI and X .		5 6 9
	Sales		61 10 2		Storage of Stock . .		4 4 10
	Interest on Deposit Account		3 3 4		Sundries		0 0 6
				Dec. 31.	Balance Carried to Summary		230 12 5
			£240 4 6				£240 4 6

Asiatic Monograph Fund

		£ s. d.			£ s. d.
Jan. 1.	Balance	114 0 3	Dec. 31.	Balance Carried to Summary .	. 124 13 3
	Sales	10 13 0			
		£124 13 3			£124 13 3

SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Oriental Translation Fund	230 12 5		Cash at Bank—		
Asiatic Monograph Fund	124 13 3		On Current Account .	. 105 5 8	
		355 5 8	" Deposit Account .	. 250 0 0	
					355 5 8
		£355 5 8			£355 5 8

Leasehold Redemption Fund

1932.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	1932.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.	Balance				268	11	2	Dec. 31.	Balance—						
	Transfer from General Account . . .				20	10	6		Represented by £282 8s. 8d. 3½ per cent War Loan,	289	1	8			
	Dividends Received to be Invested . . .	14	2	4					Cash at Bank . . .	16	18	9			
	Bonus on 5% War Loan Received to be Invested	2	16	5									306	0	5
					16	18	9								
					£306	0	5						£306	0	5

TRUST FUNDS

Prize Publications Fund

		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.	Balance				129	5	8	Dec. 31.	Balance Carried to Summary	160	10	3
	Sales	13	4	7								
	Dividends	18	0	0								
					31	4	7					
					£160	10	3			£160	10	3

Gold Medal Fund

		£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.	Balance	75	11	5		Cost of Medal . . .	32	0	0
	Dividends	9	15	0		Cost of Report of Presentation	3	3	0
					Dec. 31.	Balance Carried to Summary	50	3	5
		£85	6	5			£85	6	5

Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund

1932		£	s.	d.	1932.		£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.	Balance	116	16	6	Dec. 31.	Balance Carried to Summary	137	11	10
	Dividends	20	15	4					
		£137	11	10			£137	11	10

SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Prize Publication Fund . . .	160	10	3	Cash at Bank —			
Gold Medal Fund	50	3	5	On Current Account .	348	5	6
Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund .	137	11	10				
	£348	5	6		£348	5	6

Trust Funds

£600 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "B" Stock (Prize Publication Fund).

£325 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "A" Stock (Gold Medal Fund).

£645 11s. 2d. Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "B" Stock (Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund).

£40 3½ per cent Conversion Stock (Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund).

I have examined the above Statement with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the same to be correct. I have also had produced to me certificates for the Stock Investments and Bank Balances.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

Countersigned { L. C. HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council.
E. A. GAIT, Auditor for the Society.

15th March, 1933.

BURTON MEMORIAL FUND

Receipts		£	s.	d.	Payments		£ s. d.	£	s.	d.
1932. Jan. 1.	Balance	4	7	6	1932 Dec. 31.	Cash at Bank on Current Account . . .		5	16	10
	Dividends . . .	1	9	4						
		£5	16	10				£5	16	10

Investment.
£49 0s. 10d. 3% Local Loans.

JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND

Receipts		£	s.	d.	Payments		£ s. d.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.	Balance	229	0	2		10% Commission on 1931 Sales		7	8	3
	Dividends	201	15	0		School of Oriental Studies				
	Bonus on Conversion of £253 18s. 4d. 5 per cent War Loan	2	10	9		Bursaries . . .	115 2 0			
	Sale of Books	42	8	1		Lectures . . .	31 10 0	146	12	0
						Printing Vol. X . .	61 19 6			
						Binding Vol. II . .	1 2 0	63	1	6
					Dec. 31.	Cash at Bank— On Current Account . .		258	12	3
		£475	14	0				£475	14	0

Investments.

£1,005 14s. 7d. New South Wales 4 per cent Inscribed Stock, 1942–62.
£1,015 16s. 3d. South Australian Government 4 per cent Inscribed Stock, 1940–60.
£1,010 Bengal Nagpur Railway 4 per cent Debenture Stock.
£1,143 6s. 3d. India 3 per cent Inscribed Stock.
£700 Conversion Loan 3 per cent.
£45 East India Railway Company Annuity, Class "B"
£253 18s. 4d. 3½ per cent War Loan.

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society and have verified the Investments therein described, and I certify the said Abstracts to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.
Countersigned { L. C. HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council.
{ E. A. GAIT, Auditor for the Society.

15th March, 1933.

Southern Sung," by the Rev. A. C. Moule, who had been in China for twenty years.

"Christian Subjects in Mogul Painting," by Sir Edward Maclagan, President of the Society.

"The Nicobar Islands," by Lieut.-Col. M. L. Ferrar, C.S.I., etc., who was Chief Commissioner of these Islands for some years.

Short reports of each lecture are published in the JOURNAL.

The Council is happy to announce that the following representatives of Oriental Powers have accepted the invitation of the President and Council of the Society to become Foreign Extraordinary Members under the terms of Rule 10 :—

H.R.H. Prince Damrong of Siam.
H.E. The Japanese Ambassador.
H.E. The Turkish Ambassador.
H.E. The Afghan Minister.
H.E. The Chinese Minister.
H.E. The Egyptian Minister.
H.E. The Iraqi Minister.
H.E. The Persian Minister.
H.E. The Saudi Arabian Minister.
H.E. The Siamese Minister.

As mentioned in the last Annual Report of Council, the proposal to vary the foundation of the Public Schools' Gold Medal and Prize Trust so as to form a Universities' Prize Essay Fund has been brought to fruition. The annual prize offered will consist of £20 and a Diploma with the object of encouraging non-Asiatics in the British Isles to take an interest in the history and civilizations of the East, especially India. The subject for the competition this year is "The Advantages derived by England and India from their Mutual Relations".

The printing of the Library Catalogue is being proceeded with, and it is hoped that the result will not prove as costly as was first estimated. As will doubtless be recalled to mind, the Carnegie Trust very kindly promised a sum of £800 for the printing under certain conditions. The second proofs of one batch of cards are now being corrected as also are the first proofs of a second batch. When these have both been

corrected ready for press, a closer estimate of the complete cost of the work will be available.

The task of correcting the proofs has been kindly accepted by the undermentioned :—

Dr. Barnett as regards Dravidian languages.

Dr. Randle for Sanskrit and Modern Indian vernaculars.

Mr. Ellis for Mohammedan languages and Armenian.

Dr. Blagden for Malay.

Sir O. Wardrop for Georgian.

Mrs. Rhys Davids for Pali.

to whom the thanks of the Society are due.

They are also owed to Mr. Ellis and Mr. Oldham for their advice and assistance.

Those members who use the Library will regret to hear of the resignation and retirement of Miss Latimer, who had held the post of Assistant Librarian since 1919. They will remember her kindness and assistance in obtaining their requirements and her helpful knowledge throughout a wide range of subjects. The post is now held by Mrs. Arthur Cardew (formerly Miss F. M. G. Lorimer), who will be known to many members for her knowledge of Oriental matters. Mrs. Cardew was on the staff of the Bodleian and was Assistant to Sir Aurel Stein for thirteen years, nine at the British Museum and four in India. She has been engaged in Oriental work for some twenty years.

The thanks of the Society are due to Mrs. R. W. Frazer, the late Secretary, for her kind voluntary assistance, both in looking through the Catalogue cards as well as in undertaking the compilation of an Index of the *Journal* for the decade 1920 to 1929, the latter being a long needed work. The Index for the current period from 1930 is already in hand. Dr. L. D. Barnett has very kindly helped to sketch out an economical system which will fulfil the requirements for a reference Index.

Oriental scholars will be interested to hear that one of our honorary members, Professor Serge d'Oldenburg, has been

honoured in Leningrad on 1st February, 1933, by a special celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the commencement of his scientific work and public activities.

The grateful thanks of the Society are due to the Princess Handjéri for the generous thought which prompted a donation to our funds of the sum of £175. The Princess wished to offer this gift in memory of her late father, Friedrich August, Prince of Schleswig-Holstein (Count von Noer), who was ever a patron of Oriental Studies as well as a writer. His great work *Kaiser Akbar* occupies a place in the Library.

In January last the Council resolved to increase the annual sum invested for the Leasehold Redemption Fund by £10, making it up to £30. This fund was created by the Council on 6th December, 1921, when it was agreed to set aside a sum of £20 for investment annually in December, as an annual premium out of the General Income of the Society, in the purchase and additions to one of the Stocks transferable at the Bank of England whereon dividends may be accumulated. At the end of 1932 it was realized that the yield of dividends from Government securities had diminished. It was therefore resolved in January, 1933, to increase the annual allotment by £10 and to make a total of £30 clear per annum to be secured at compound interest. The balance credit of the account at the end of April, 1933, was £329.

As a result of representations made by the Society last year, the India Office annual grant, which was reduced in 1932 from 300 guineas to 150 guineas, has now been fixed at 200 guineas during the present financial crisis.

The accounts of the Society have been audited as usual by Messrs. Price, Waterhouse and Co., Ltd., the firm of professional auditors, and have also been examined by the Honorary Auditors of the Society. The Hon. Auditors are elected annually, one to represent the Council and one to represent the members of the Society. They met Sir Nicholas Waterhouse on 15th March to scrutinize the accounts for 1932, and afterwards reported as follows :—

"We have been through the accounts with Sir Nicholas Waterhouse, who has explained them fully to us. They are, as usual, presented in excellent order, but we would like to point out that the cash in hand (including £500 in the Post Office Savings Bank) is now £973 6*s.* 2*d.*, or about £365 more than at the end of the previous year. This is due largely to the redemption of £132 4½ per cent Treasury Bonds and to a special donation of £175 by Princess Handjéri in memory of her father, who was a keen Orientalist. We would suggest that the investment of a sum at least equal to these two amounts should be considered. We assume that the sum of £1,005 in New South Wales Inscribed Stock has since been converted into Commonwealth Stock.

"Finally we note that the Catalogue of the Library of the Society remains still uncompleted and has required an expenditure of £116 during the year 1932.

"*For the Council :* L. C. HOPKINS.

"*For the Society :* E. A. GAIT."

The number of people using the Library has increased since last year to about 535.

Four foreign applicants have been assisted with the loan of Manuscripts, of which only one is still out. The term of its loan does not expire till July, 1933.

Two photographic copies of works belonging to the Society have been sent to foreign applicants at their own charges, and the Persian Government has asked permission to make a facsimile copy of the text of the precious MS., the Shahnamah. It is required for the celebration, in 1934, of the thousandth anniversary of the writer of the poem, Firdausi, the famous Persian poet.

Under Rule 30 of the Society Dr. C. Otto Blagden, as senior Vice-President for last session, retires, and the Council recommend Sir William Foster to make up the number.

By Rule 31 the Council also recommend the re-election of the Honorary Officers—Mr. Ellis as Hon. Librarian, Sir J. H. Stewart Lockhart as Hon. Secretary, and Mr. Perowne as

Hon. Treasurer. By Rule 32 the following members retire from the Council and are not eligible for re-election as such: Sir William Foster, Mr. Hopkins, Professor Langdon, and Mr. Oldham. The Council recommend for election in their places: Dr. Blagden, Sir Edward Gait, Mr. C. A. Storey, and Sir John Thompson. They also recommend that Mr. R. P. Dewhurst be re-elected to remain in his position as Member of Council, taken up during the past session, under Rule 28, when Sir Reginald Johnston unfortunately had to resign owing to his duties at the School of Oriental Studies.

Under Rule 81 the Council recommend the election as Honorary Auditors for the ensuing year of Sir Edward Gait (for the Council) and Mr. L. C. Hopkins (for the members), together with Messrs. Price, Waterhouse and Co., Ltd., as professional auditors.

The CHAIRMAN, Professor D. S. Margoliouth, said :—

We now proceed to the business of the Anniversary Meeting, which includes the proposal and due election of honorary officers, members of Council and auditors as shown in the draft report, which is already in your hands and has been circulated to all members in the United Kingdom. We shall then proceed to hear from the Hon. Treasurer the Financial Report, and then Sir E. Denison Ross will propose that this Report be adopted. After this Mr. S. M. Mackay will second the adoption.

I will now ask the Hon. Treasurer to read his report.

The HON. TREASURER, Mr. E. S. M. Perowne, F.S.A., said :—

The study of accounts is always an interesting one, and it is curious to note in this case how last year's receipts and payments have worked out. Our normal receipts amounted to only £2,958 8*s*. 5*d*., while our normal payments were £3,215 15*s*. 10*d*., thus showing a deficit of over £250, but as usual our Fairy Godmother has appeared, this time under the guise of the Princess Handjéri, whose generous donation of £175, to which allusion has already been made in the

Report, has gone a long way to cover the deficit. Our gross income receipts for 1932 were £3,448 8*s*. 5*d*., excluding balances brought forward from 31st December, 1931, and excluding also the redemption money on the Treasury Bonds which is capital. This total, however, includes not only the generous donation already referred to, but also the delayed grant of the India Office of £315 for 1931, which was only received at the beginning of last year. As against these receipts of £3,448 8*s*. 5*d*. our normal outgoings on the payments side, as I have already stated, amount to £3,215 15*s*. 10*d*. to which, however, must be added the deficiency brought forward from the 1931 accounts arising from the late payment of the India Office Grant, viz. £289 9*s*. 6*d*., thus making our total payments for 1932 £3,505 5*s*. 4*d*., or say a deficit on this last year's accounts of £56 16*s*. 11*d*. This be it noted is really the final result of the accounts for the two years 1931 and 1932, as it takes into account the 1931 deficit of £289.

I now proceed to an analysis of the accounts for 1932 :— Taking first the receipts side, we have a loss of nearly £50 as compared with the previous year on resident members' subscriptions, which during the previous five years had shown somewhat of a revival. We are now back again to the 1927 level. Non-resident members' subscriptions make an even worse showing, as they are nearly £100 down on the 1931 figure, and unfortunately show a constantly decreasing tendency from 1928, when they reached a peak level of £1,028 as against last year's £806. There are no fresh resident compounders this year. Last year we received £40 under that heading, and the non-resident compounders' subscriptions of this year, £39, compare unfavourably with £90 last year. The students and miscellaneous bring in £20 as against £24 and include four students as in the previous year, the miscellaneous being in respect of non-resident subscribers whose remittance falls slightly short of the exact amount of their subscriptions, though now and again we have a penny or two over. The

net result is that our subscriptions total £1,116 19*s.* 5*d.* only, some £242 down as compared with the previous year. This is by far our worst figure since 1924, when our total subscriptions were £1,414, the lowest since then being £1,266 in 1925. This reduction in subscriptions is becoming serious, and we must all try our best to remedy the constant fall in our numbers. There is, in fact, a committee sitting which has this matter in hand and is studying the best method of increasing our membership. The next item, "Rents Received," compares very favourably with 1931, being something like £160 more than we received in the previous year, but when I tell you that our total rents at present only amount to £560 per annum, with the possibility of a further £70 per annum when a room, at present vacant, is let, you will appreciate that some £200 of last year's rents may be considered as due to arrears recovered, and that in 1933, therefore, we shall receive some £200 less under this heading. Under the heading "Grants" I have already referred to the India Grant for 1931, and you have heard about the reduction for last year in the Report. The other grants I am glad to say remain constant.

Donations. You have already been told of the Princess Handjéri's kindly gift, and as regards the others the £19 19*s.* in the Draft Report compares with £51 9*s.* of the previous year, but naturally this heading is liable to constant fluctuations. Now we come to the JOURNAL account, and here I am glad to say that although there is a falling off as compared with 1931 of nearly £100 altogether, it is not serious so far as subscriptions are concerned, which only show a fall of £15. The big fall is in the copies sold and is largely accounted for by the fact that in 1931 we sold a set of the JOURNAL for £86 and did not repeat it last year. The ordinary sales accordingly show a slight increase of some £10 or £12 which is all to the good. The other items on the receipt side do not call for comment, as the redemption of the Treasury Bonds has already been referred to, and the item under the heading

"Sale of Old Books" merely takes the place of the old heading under "Sale of Library Books", and refers to extra copies which we could dispose of.

Now we come to the payments side. The items under House account are some £140 less than the previous year, £120 of which is under the heading of repairs, while most of the other items show small decreases, particularly in light and coal. As to the Leasehold Redemption Fund, the Report has told you that as from this year we have had to increase the premium by £10. Salaries and wages show a saving of some £25 on the previous year, and there is also a small reduction in the Printing and Stationery account. The JOURNAL account is £100 up in consequence of certain special articles it was desired to print, but we shall hope to bring this figure down again to its normal figure of about £1,000. The Library expenditure this last year has not been quite so heavy as the previous year, and the Catalogue is responsible for £116 of the total amount expended. I am sorry to say that all the items under Sundry Expenses show an increase, the total being some £60 in excess of the previous year, but the teas and lectures must be classed as part of the propaganda for obtaining new members and is therefore considered a proper expenditure.

The only further item to be explained is the apparently large sum of £973 6*s.* 2*d.* brought forward as cash balances in respect of which our Society's auditors (not the professional ones) have suggested £300 should be invested. This sum is made up as follows :—£250 as unexpended balance of the Carnegie Grant and earmarked for the printing of the Catalogue ; £200 originally further set aside by us as earmarked also for the same purpose but which has in fact been spent, so that it may now be considered as released, £132 16*s.* 3*d.*, representing the redemption money of the Treasury Bonds, which is capital for investment as well as £235 for compounders' fees which is also capital and should be invested ; and there is another £40 earmarked for another purpose,

making a total of £857 17*s*. 3*d*., leaving therefore only something over £100 free, which we have always considered it was desirable to keep on hand as working balance each year. While agreeing that we should invest as much as possible, your Treasurer has always had in view the possibility of being called upon at any moment not only for the earmarked sums in connection with the Catalogue, but perhaps further unlooked for expenditure for the same purpose as well as a possible call in respect of deficiency of income. On the advice of stockbrokers and bankers, therefore, none of the capital moneys have recently been invested, having regard to the uncertainty of markets at the present time, but as you will note, £500 has been placed in the Savings Bank, which since the beginning of this year has been increased to £700, and the rest has been left on current or deposit account, for which I hope your Treasurer will not be censured. Recently we have discovered that the Catalogue printing is likely to cost considerably less than at first anticipated. As soon as the approximate amount can definitely be ascertained your Treasurer proposes to make at once the appropriate investment of so much of the accumulated cash as can properly be so dealt with.

With regard to the Special account, I do not think there is much to report. The Leasehold Redemption Fund increases year by year, and since the end of last year we have invested some £46 cash. I may perhaps say one word with regard to the Forlong Fund. It will be noted that there was a considerable sum of cash on current account. This is the one case where we have a difficulty in getting rid of our funds rather than in saving them, as the whole of the income should be absorbed by the School of Oriental Studies each year, a process which I believe is now in course of realization.

I cannot complete this survey of the accounts without a further reference to the important question of members. On a recent revision 128 defaulters were struck off the 1931 list and 72 last year, thus bringing the effective number down from

over 900 a few years back to 722 only, as stated in the Report That the fall is a genuine one is proved by the figures and, as I have said, we must all do what we can to restore, if not increase, the numbers of earlier days. From the foregoing account you will appreciate how we are struggling with adversity so to speak, but in spite of that it is the Council's constant policy and endeavour, with the assent and connivance of your Treasurer, to bear two things in mind: first, that before everything the JOURNAL has now such a high place in the esteem of scholars all over the world that it shall be kept at that point, if not improved, and that there shall be no cutting down of its contents except as a very last resort. The second point is a corollary, viz. that the Library shall be its next care, and if you will turn to the accounts of the previous years you will see that this has been carried out to the full in face of our falling revenues. To this I will only add a general appeal. If any member has anything to give in the cause of learning it will be thankfully received and faithfully applied in the cause of our Royal Asiatic Society, whose good name for scholarship and well-being we all have so much at heart. Let me again express my thanks to Mrs. Davis for all her help to her somewhat exacting Treasurer; she has even risen more than once from a sick bed to attend to his wants.

The CHAIRMAN: I think I may assure the Hon. Treasurer that there is not the slightest prospect of his receiving any censure. We are extremely grateful for the immense amount of trouble that he takes over our accounts and for the very lucid exposition he has here given us.

I will now ask Sir Denison Ross to propose the adoption of the Report.

Sir DENISON ROSS: You have had the financial aspect set before you by our Hon. Treasurer. You will have the spiritual aspect set before you by our Chairman. I will now say a few words on the material side about men and matters. I have been thinking for the past fortnight that my duty this afternoon

was to second the adoption of this Report, and not to propose it; therefore I have had to spend the last half hour writing a speech, which I promise you I will not take nearly so long to read. I only wish to call attention to one or two points. The Chairman will no doubt refer to the losses the Society has recently sustained, but there are two to which I would like to refer myself. First, that of Dr. Sir J. Jamshedji Modi, that fine old Parsee scholar in Bombay, one of our honorary members, who died recently; I would like to pay my own tribute to his memory. He was the Grand Old Man of the Parsee world. Only a few years ago, when 80 years of age, he travelled all the way to Europe in order to see the midnight sun. I thought that was one of the most romantic journeys I had ever heard of. Also he established the Lectureship in Iranian Studies at the School of Oriental Studies. This was established through his hard work in Bombay, at my suggestion, and it is the first time that Iranian studies have ever been endowed in England. I would also like to make a reference to Colonel Stephenson. I was connected with him in his first efforts in Oriental studies when he was a young I.M.S. officer in India and I was honorary secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal; I have always taken a deep interest in the work he has done, and am proud to think we have always welcomed his contributions to our JOURNAL.

Then with regard to our lectures, the documents are before you and you will see the enormously wide range they cover. In fact, the subjects mentioned on pages 5 and 12 practically take you throughout the whole East, and it is very much to our credit that we should have catered for such a wide range of interest. I am not going to specify any of them in particular. You will see in the Draft Report a distinguished list of the Foreign Extraordinary Members beginning with H.R.H. Prince Damrong of Siam and ending with His Excellency the Siamese Minister. You will have noticed the inclusion of H.E. the Saudian Minister; this is, I believe, the first time the country of Saudia has been mentioned in this JOURNAL.

Then there is the Universities' Prize Medal. The history of this prize is one of the sore points of our Society. Somebody once thought of the excellent idea of giving a handsome prize to be competed for in public schools for articles connected with the Indian Empire. It has unfortunately very seldom produced anything in the way of keen competition, and the prize has seldom been won. We thought this might be improved if the prize were extended to the Universities, and the first year's competitive effort produced, I think, only one essay. But perhaps the result will be better in future if we make a little more propaganda.

In regard to the Catalogue, it is good news to hear from the Treasurer that it is going to cost less than was expected; but, of course, until it is completed the figures may mean anything. At any rate you have one great satisfaction here, that you have got a very fine array of experts who are giving their voluntary services. You will find a list of them in the Report, and if they cannot produce a good Catalogue then no one can. I hope we shall soon have what we have so long wished for, namely an up to date catalogue of this excellent library.

With regard to the JOURNAL and its contents, it will be noticed that the JOURNAL does not figure very largely in the Report; but then we are the JOURNAL and the JOURNAL is us. The only thing we find mentioned is the index, a very important item it is true, which has been prepared by the most kind and willing service of our late Secretary, Mrs. Frazer, who has been good enough to undertake not only to help with the Catalogue but to compile the index from 1920 to 1929, and all scholars will know that a journal without an index is like an index without a journal. We must have the two together. With regard to the contents of the JOURNAL it is very difficult to discriminate, but certain names occur of persons to whom we are duly grateful: Professor F. W. Thomas has continued his great work on the Tibetan documents from Central Asia, and we all know what a great work

that is in a purely pioneer aspect of attempting, from the merest fragments of wood and paper and so on, to restore the history of the frontier garrisons of Tibet in the 7th or 8th century, just as the Chinese scholars have deciphered the garrison correspondence and papers and inventories of the 2nd century from the Great Wall of China. These articles do not make thrilling reading. They are not the kind of thing that keep you awake or send you to sleep; but Professor Thomas has taken upon himself what is purely a labour of love, and I am sure the results of the drudgery involved are deserving of our deepest thanks. Those matters are disposed of once and for all and we are all very grateful to him. We know what the Society as a whole owes to him in the past in many activities and what it looks forward to in the future. I should like also to mention Dr. Farmer, who has devoted himself to the study of Oriental, especially Arabic, music. He sends us his articles regularly, and they are always welcome. Reference may also be made to an important article on a Chinese Libation Urn contributed by Mr. Hopkins and Professor Perceval Yetts. In connection with the latter we have to congratulate the Courtauld Institute on creating and endowing a new Chair. It is a source of great satisfaction that we should have such a noble subject at last represented in this country. Two other articles I will mention—one a translation by Sir Theodore Morison of a curious memoir by Bernier which led to a little correspondence in *The Times*; the other was an article by Benveniste, a very promising, or rather a very brilliant, young Iranian scholar in Paris, who is the rival of our Mr. H. W. Bailey who holds the Parsee Lectureship in London. We have at the present moment in France and England two young men who are already in the very first rank as Iranian philologists and are devoting themselves to a subject which has been taken up by practically only one scholar in this country, namely West, who died 20 or 30 years ago; and I take this opportunity of pointing out that we have thus in our midst one who can vie

with Mr. Benveniste, who has made a great name for himself in Paris and who has contributed to our JOURNAL.

In regard to the Library, I would like to mention that we have lost a faithful servant in Miss Latimer, who has resigned, but her place is taken by Miss Lorimer, a very old friend of many of us owing to her connection with the Stein Collection and with the Bodleian. We all know her as Miss Lorimer (it is very difficult to call her Mrs. Cardew), the sister of two distinguished brothers, one of whom is still with us. We are very delighted at our good fortune in having her to work in the Library. She has an experience of Oriental listing and cataloguing that perhaps no other woman in the world has ever had.

Then I would in conclusion merely mention some of the faithful servants of the Society. First, our President, who is unfortunately not here to-day, Sir Edward Maclagan. You all know what he has done for the Society; then there is our Director, Professor Margoliouth. You know what his encyclopædic knowledge means to the Society and how keen an interest he takes in every detail of its work. Then there is Mr. Ellis, whose knowledge of Oriental bibliography is much more than unrivalled. Nobody 'begins to know' what Mr. Ellis knows about books. It is not that he is better than anybody else. He stands alone. There is Sir James Stewart Lockhart, our Hon. Secretary, to guide us in the right path in Chinese. There is Mr. Perowne, who devotes valuable time to dealing with our accounts with the help of Mrs. Davis, who runs our office with such efficiency and with so much grace; and finally let us say how we all appreciate the admirable and faithful work already done by our comparatively new Secretary, Colonel Hoysted.

The CHAIRMAN: Sir Denison Ross having proposed the adoption of the Report, I will now call upon Mr. Mackay to second it.

Mr. S. M. MACKAY: In seconding the adoption of the report I do so as a non-resident member of the Society.

I should say that a suggestion which I am going to make has largely been forestalled by the Hon. Treasurer in his report of the accounts. The aspect of the Society's activities with which the non-resident member is most familiar is, of course, the JOURNAL. Many of us have not the good fortune to be what I may call whole-time Orientalists, and when living abroad, even in the East, it is not always easy for us to pursue Orientalism. In such cases the JOURNAL fills a very valuable part in sustaining an interest that might otherwise die for lack of sustenance. I do feel, however, that steps could well be taken to make it much more widely known. Colonel Hoysted has given me some leaflets which show that in the past efforts have from time to time been made to reach more persons, but I know from my own experience and others' that one has often to go far out of one's way to keep in touch with Orientalism, and therefore I feel sure that were facilities for joining the Society more widely known we would secure many new members. I do not know just how this should be done, but I would suggest that the matter be canvassed with as many non-resident members as possible and suggestions obtained for activities that would be suitable for each area. I am quite sure that many members abroad would be only too pleased to take a more intimate and personal part in promoting the Society's interests.

As to the report of the year under review, I think we should certainly congratulate the Council on the continuing excellence of the Society's activities. I am afraid I can offer no more helpful suggestion than of a vigorous campaign abroad to bring in new members, and I do think there is plenty lot of room for that.

I beg to second the adoption of the report.

The CHAIRMAN: The Report has now been proposed and seconded. Does anyone else wish to address the Society on the subject? . . . As no one wishes to do so I will ask those in favour of the adoption of the Report, which, as I have already stated, involves the passing of this list of Hon. Officers,

Members of Council, and Auditors, to indicate their desire in the ordinary way.

Passed unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN: In the unavoidable absence of the President it falls to my lot to furnish the survey of the Society's past work and future prospects which is usual at the Annual Meeting. In the President's absence we can say without embarrassing him how highly we appreciate the wisdom with which he presides over our deliberations and the energy with which he looks after our interests. It may be added that the work which he has recently published, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, by the scholarly qualities which it displays has added lustre to the Society. It would seem that the institution for which the Germans have coined the word *Festschrift* is becoming popular in other countries. In the past year two such works have appeared here, one on a magnificent scale dedicated to Professor F. Ll. Griffith, the first Professor of Egyptology in Oxford and, I fancy, in England, presented to him on the occasion of his retirement from the post which he has filled with so much distinction. Another which has only just been published is dedicated to Professor Rendel Harris, an Orientalist who is not indeed a member of our Society, which however will, I am sure, permit me to offer him its congratulations on the honour. His services to the textual criticism of the New Testament, and his remarkable discoveries of Syriac texts, some of them of extraordinary importance, are well known to all here. One other *Festschrift* which is appearing at this time is dedicated to Professor Duncan B. Macdonald, of the Theological Seminary, Hartford, Connecticut, a member of this Society and a contributor to our JOURNAL. Its method is, I fancy, an innovation, since the contributors are all of them Professor Macdonald's pupils. This method makes the volume *ipso facto* an eloquent testimony to the success of his work as a director of studies.

We have, as has been seen from the Report, to deplore several losses. Professor Sayce, honorary vice-president and

gold medallist: many here are likely to remember the appreciation of his work pronounced in this room by Sir Arthur Cowley and Lord Birkenhead on the occasion of his receiving the Society's medal. He had, indeed, like many men of eminence, *obtrectatores* as well as admirers, but the width of the circle which his fame had reached is gauged by the fact that some of the pocket diaries noted on 23rd September, "Professor Sayce, born 1845." Of Sir J. J. Modi, whose loss we also deplore, Sir Denison Ross has had some very interesting facts to tell us, but I may add that when I was in Bombay a few years ago he gave me a most cordial welcome, and he also gave me some opportunities of seeing with what extraordinary knowledge and energy he pursued his investigations. I think, too, we may include among our losses by death one of a man who is deplored by a very large circle, or indeed number of circles, the late Lord Chelmsford, formerly a member of this Society. He also did us the service of presenting our Public School Gold Medal, an occasion on which he defended, as it seemed to me convincingly, the Indian Government, of which he was the head, from the charge of negligence in medical equipment for the Mesopotamian campaign. Having been educated, like the President, at Winchester College, he was a patriotic Wykehamist, and treated all *alumni* of the same institution as old friends. Having held some of the highest offices of State, towards the end of his life he accepted the wardenship of All Souls in Oxford, where he received a cordial welcome. The University greatly deplores the loss of his wisdom and experience, by which it has been able to profit for so short a time.

Since our Society aims at being cosmopolitan, I may mention two losses which the Semitists have sustained of savants not connected with us. One is that of an eminent Syriac scholar, Johan Georg Ernst Hoffmann, of Kiel, who was closely associated with Theodore Nöldeke, whom he succeeded when the latter migrated to Strassburg. For an appreciation of his career and works I may refer to the

magazine *Forschungen und Festschrifte* of 1st March of this year. The other is that of the veteran student of South Arabian epigraphy, J. H. Mordtmann, one of the last of the older school of decipherers. Contributions by him to this subject appeared as early as 1876: he co-operated with D. H. Müller in more than one of the works in which the basis for the interpretation of these monuments was laid. In 1931 he edited, in conjunction with Professor Mittwoch of Berlin, the inscriptions which were the fruit of the Rathjens-von Wissmann mission; but he did not live to see the appearance of the latest volume which bears his name wherein he again co-operated with Mittwoch. A memoir of him by Professor Babinger, of Berlin, has appeared.

We have maintained the cosmopolitan character of our Journal by accepting contributions from writers belonging to many nations. Some recognition is due to the persons who have advised the Council in the matter of accepting or rejecting articles offered, and since for a number of reasons India claims a large proportion of our space, a considerable burden has been borne by some of our experts, notably Professor Thomas, who for a long time was honorary secretary, Professor Barnett, and Professor Turner. I must also add Sir Denison Ross, whom we find a constant support in these matters. Our Assyriological experts are likely to be relieved of this duty since the Society has agreed to relegate the bulk of the matter which belongs to this department to a new Journal of Assyriology, for which Professor Langdon has obtained support from several institutions and which will, we hope, appear under the auspices of this Society, though under independent management. We all cordially wish it success, though there are already signs that our membership may suffer in consequence.

You will see from the list of lectures that the Society has used its lecture room to give those who are interested the opportunity of hearing accounts of discovery and explanation from the explorers and discoverers themselves, and owes a

debt of gratitude to those intrepid travellers who have consented to lecture and exhibit the work of their cameras. The task of providing for these monthly or fortnightly meetings is laid on our Secretary, who is justifying the opinion of a certain Satesman, that if we appointed Colonel Hoysted we could not possibly make a wrong choice. I could very much wish that these lectures would not only attract, as they do, large audiences, but would also lead to large accessions to our membership. We have already heard the figures from the Hon. Treasurer, which are somewhat melancholy.

There are three classes of member. Resident members who live in or near the metropolis: There were in 1923, 83; in 1925, 103; in 1932, 80; non-resident members living in Great Britain: in 1923, 121; in 1932, 87; non-resident members living abroad in 1923, 486; in 1928, 564; in 1932, 431. The decline is therefore somewhat serious, and I have not the figures for kindred societies which might justify me in resorting to the consolation which our Statesmen find so efficacious when reporting on the economy of the country, viz. that other countries are far worse off. Still it is worth observing that the Journal of the German Oriental Society which before the war had an extent of 800 pages is now reduced to 234, whereas ours goes up from 1,000 to 1,117; so very likely we could comfort ourselves in the same way. The Council has been trying to find some way of stopping this decline and is considering a decidedly heretical method. For whereas the great economists of the world are agreed that the way to make people buy more is to raise prices, the plan which commends itself to us is to lower them. We think there may be persons whose co-operation we should welcome, especially those who are professionally connected with the studies which we pursue, living in the metropolis, who may be deterred by the three-guinea subscription required of resident members, and the Council has just been endeavouring to make matters easier for this class of possible members. It is true that in these days of specialism only a

portion of the contents of any issue of the JOURNAL is likely to interest any particular member of the Society, and to the charge sometimes brought against us by correspondents that we are hopelessly technical and dry our reply is always that we do not aim at being popular. Our purpose is to provide those who are working in the vast and diverse fields which come within our scope with an opportunity for making the results of their researches known; and the co-operation of Indianists, Semitists, Islamists, Sinologues, and others is not only a more economical plan than that of separate journals for the separate branches, but is more likely to attract workers into each. It has been, and I hope will continue to be, the policy of the Council to see that each branch of study is given its due share of attention. And while we recognize that results should be popularized, being occupied ourselves with what is called spade-work, we could wish for wider recognition of the fact that spade-work is necessary before anything capable of popularization can be obtained, and that membership of the Society is an effective form of participation in the process. And among the reasons which make us anxious to maintain the size no less than the quality of the JOURNAL is the fact that with the nationalism which is so marked a feature of the post-war period fresh countries are entering into co-operation, not always to be distinguished from competition, with us. The Journal of the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute is in its fifth year, and it is full of valuable material. But I have been asked to assist in making known one that is even more recent, of which the first number was issued only a few days ago; and as it appears under the management of an honorary member of this Society I feel justified in using this occasion for complying with that request. It is *Al-Andalus*, a review of the schools of Arab studies of Madrid and Granada, of which the directors are Miguel Asin Palacios and Emilio Garcia Gomez. The name of our honorary member, Professor Asin Palacios, is well known and highly esteemed in this country as elsewhere, and his services to Arabic literature and

especially that of Moslem Spain are generally acknowledged and appreciated; and so I may end with a word of good omen, and ask the Society to join with me in wishing his new enterprise success.

Christian Subjects in Mogul Painting

A lecture was delivered on the above subject by Sir Edward Maclagan on the 9th March, 1933.

The lecturer, approaching the subject from the historical rather than the artistic standpoint, described the attitude adopted by the three Mogul sovereigns, Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, towards the art of painting and towards the Christian mission which was established during their reigns at the Mogul court. Slides were exhibited to illustrate the presence of the Christian missionaries at the Court and the class of pictures which they introduced from Europe.

The large mural paintings, with which the Imperial buildings at Sikandra, Agra, and Lahore were decorated, included several with Christian motives. These paintings had disappeared, but their existence is proved both by the evidence of travellers and by the contemporary miniatures which display the interiors of the Mogul palaces.

The small paintings, known as miniatures, used partly as illustrations to books and partly as material for portfolios and albums, treated not infrequently of Christian subjects. A substantial number of these were demonstrably based on uncoloured prints executed by Flemish engravers (such as Galle, Sadeler, and Wierix) and imported from Antwerp: others were copies of known engravings by the German Master, Albert Dürer, and the lecturer was able by means of adjacent slides to exhibit the correspondence between the original engravings and the Mogul painted copies in each case. Examples were given, for instance, of Mogul paintings based on the "Maria am Baume" of Dürer, on his "St. Peter and the Cripple", on one of his "Crucifixions", on his

"Christ before Caiaphas", and on his "Standard bearer". The lecturer then proceeded to show several slides to illustrate the Mogul miniatures of the Madonna or the Madonna and Child, followed by a number displaying incidents in the life of Christ. Some of these were taken from the "Album of Jahāngīr" at Berlin, others from the "Album of Dārā" and the "Johnon Collection" at the India Office Library, and others from the British Museum and the India Museum, and from public and private collections in all parts of the world, including a valuable but much damaged series of illustrations to a Persian "Life of Christ" in the Lahore Museum, and some interesting examples from the collection of Mr. Chester Beatty in London. The slides included a remarkable portrait of Shāh Jahān with Christian symbols, a miniature of the angels ministering to Ibrāhīm bin Ādham (at one time wrongly believed to represent the angels ministering to Christ after the Temptation), and some mysterious pictures which have at times been taken to symbolize the "Good Shepherd" of the Gospel.

The Nicobar Islands and their Inhabitants

On Thursday, 13th April, Lt.-Col. M. L. Ferrar gave a lecture illustrated by fifty lantern slides before the Royal Asiatic Society on "The Nicobar Islands and their Inhabitants". Col. Ferrar was for eight years Chief Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

He said: We all know too well what has happened to primitive races in so many parts of the world, particularly among island communities long isolated and thus more liable to suffer from the impact of a new and more complex culture. Have the Nicobarese escaped and are they going to hold their own?

First let us notice the situation of the Islands. Up from the bed of the Bay of Bengal, which is at a depth of 2,000 fathoms, there rises a great submarine ridge which runs in a 700-mile arc from Cape Negrais in Burma to Achin Head

in Sumatra. Preparis, the Cocos, the Great and Little Andaman, and the Nicobars may all be regarded as groups of mountain tops emerging above water from this ridge. There are deep gaps of 600 fâthoms or so between the groups. The physical characteristics of the Andamans and Nicobars differ considerably one from the other and are, in my opinion, largely accountable for the startling difference between their inhabitants. The great Andaman has a hilly surface covered with dense forest and little adapted for the development of a primitive agriculture, even of the tropical garden and orchard type, still less of the rice and cereals type. There is a very indented coast, the eastern and western halves of which alternate with each other in being exposed or protected from the monsoons for half of each year. The consequence has been that for 5,000 years, as their kitchen middens prove to us, the Great Andaman has been peopled solely by a race of nomadic shore-dwelling hunters and collectors of food who have never learnt to plant and grow for their use anything whatsoever. During all that time the wild appearance of the country and the fierceness of its people effectually preserved it from the intrusion of strange settlers.

By the year 1858 the Andaman Islanders had rendered themselves unbearable through the cruelties they practised on all mariners cast away on their shores and the Government was forced to open a settlement in their islands. Its institution coincided with the close of the Great Mutiny and the new settlement was a penal one with mutineers for its early batches of convicts. It was essential on all grounds to turn the hostility of the savages into friendship and in the course of doing this we set up too close a contact with them.

The physical characteristics of the race briefly are that they are small—men about 5 feet, women 4 feet 10 inches, with glossy jet-black skin and short curly hair—muscular, and powerful, but unable to resist disease of any sort. In 1858 there were perhaps 4,000 of these little people living

scattered along the beaches and creeks. To-day there are but sixty of their true descendants alive, and another thirty with Indian blood in them.

I have said we maintained too close a contact. We taught them to wear clothes without their being able to grasp the function of clothes at all. We took them from their snug huts and exposed them to the winds under our pile-built houses, thus giving them chest complaints. We taught them to grow sugar cane, to row with English oars, to pick out letters of the alphabet, and to wait at table. When they escaped to their jungles we fetched them back. In an incredibly short space of time, less than twenty years, the mischief was done. By 1878 they were a doomed race. In our well-intentioned nineteenth-century self-satisfaction we had destroyed their scheme of life and their culture and had failed to give them anything in exchange except new diseases which they were unable to combat. Now there are sixty left out of 4,000. A cruise past their deserted beaches and through untenanted creeks where no sign of human life is to be seen inevitably fills one with melancholy.

The Önges of the Little Andaman have been more fortunate. We made friends with them in the eighties and have since kept them at arms length. They have diminished by 30 or 40 per cent, but under existing conditions should dwindle no further.

Turning to the Nicobars we find that physical conditions vary from island to island and in proportion as they approach those of the Great Andaman you get the density of the population growing less and its culture more primitive. Of the twenty islands, large and small, only half are inhabited. Of these Car Nicobar and Chaura consist almost entirely of raised coral beaches, they are covered from end to end with coconut groves and support a dense population of 150 to the square mile. Several others, Teressa, Bompoka, Camorta, and Nankauri present the most beautiful views to the traveller at sea. Frequent beaches of white coral sand are fringed at

the back by coconuts, with then a belt of *pandanus*, the screwpine or Nicobar bread-fruit, called by Dampier the mellory tree; behind them some tropical forest, from which emerge gently contoured hills running up to 800 feet, covered with grass and separated by wooded coombes. The effect is often that of park land and recalls the scenery of the temperate zone. Here the density of the population drops to 10 per square mile. The remaining islands, Kachal, Great and Little Nicobar, and their satellites Pulo Milo and Kondul are more mountainous and covered with forest. Mt. Thuillier in the Great Nicobar rises to 2,700 feet, and from it several navigable rivers run to the coast. This island, 333 square miles in extent, is covered with forest except for a few strips of coconuts and pandanus behind the infrequent beaches. The density of the population has a further drop in these wooded islands to 1 per square mile. Throughout the Nicobars the beauty of the scenery is greatly enhanced by the wonderful variety in the colour of the sea as it is affected by the clouds or by the presence of coral or sand in the shallows. But this beauty of land and sea is general to all tropical islands.

The Nicobars lie on the ancient trade route to the East, and from the earliest times the abundance and the excellence of Nicobar coconuts and the presence of other commodities, such as ambergris, tortoiseshell, green snail, edible sea-slugs, and edible bird's-nests, have brought traders to the islands, and for an equally long time we may assume that the present inhabitants have been established there. They were first mentioned by the Chinese traveller I'Tsing in A.D. 672, and from that time have been known by historians and travellers as "Nakkavaram", the land of the naked, and, indeed, not only "naked" but "possessing tails", for this was the belief engendered by the dangling ends of the islanders' loincloths. For 250 years and more there have been spasmodic attempts by different European powers to colonize the islands and still more to evangelize the people. All have ended in failure. Our immediate predecessors were the Danes who finally

relinquished possession of the islands in 1848. For the next twenty years the Nicobarese of the central group practised a murderous piracy on all vessels driven to shelter there by force of circumstances. Unlike the more accidental outrages which sent us to occupy the Andamans these attacks were at times premeditated and at others a rough way of settling accounts with greedy traders. When the tally of pirated ships reached twenty-six the British stepped in and annexed the group. An offshoot of the Port Blair penal settlement was opened in Nankauri harbour and the Andamans and Nicobars were jointly formed into a small province, or to use the official term, "a minor local administration," under a Chief Commissioner at Port Blair in the Great Andaman, who was directly under the Home Department of the Government of India. In twenty years' time piracy had become a vague memory and the Nankauri settlement having thus fulfilled its purpose was evacuated.

The Port Blair station ship still kept up periodic visits, but resident authority was reduced to two native Indian agents at Car Nicobar and Nankauri respectively. Twelve years ago the former made way for a European Assistant Commissioner in charge of the whole group and a full time tahsildar relieved the agent at Nankauri. These two officials have duties quite unlike those performed by persons with similar designations in India. One must consider them as protectors rather than rulers. They collect no revenue from the Nicobarese nor do they perform any judicial work unless the parties are outsiders. Their chief duties are to regulate the presence and activities of outside traders, to protect the Nicobarese from their rapacity, and to settle disputes between the two communities. This they do under the special law of the province known as Reg. III of 1876. Under this regulation the landing and residence of strangers was as rigidly controlled in the Nicobars as in the Andamans, for there were penal settlements in both places. Trading in the Nicobars was also forbidden except under licence. To the

fortunate existence of this control we can ascribe the continued freedom of the Nicobarese from all forms of spoliation by more worldly folk. The traders know themselves to be liable to immediate ejection if they misbehave. Armed by the regulation the local officers have decreed that no Nicobarese shall be given goods on credit or be sueable for debt by a non-Nicobarese. All transactions are to be cash ones if cash is the word to use where the currency is in terms of coconuts. The revenue of the islands comes solely from traders' licence fees and from the royalty of 10 per cent *ad valorem* paid by them on all island produce exported. Both officers are rather tied to headquarters. The tahsildar has a steam launch with a rather restricted steaming radius, and the Assistant Commissioner is unable to leave Car Nicobar except when every two or three months the station steamer arrives from Port Blair for a four or five days' cruise in the islands. The arm of the law consists of a police guard of one to three men at Car Nicobar which the Assistant Commissioner usually declares he does not need. At Nankauri the tahsildar has ruled solely through personal charm—the smile without the thick stick. Among his charges must still be the sons of many a blood-stained pirate. For the rest the Nicobarese are left to govern themselves through the medium of their headmen known locally as "Captains".

Brigs from Moulmein or the West Coast of India bring rice and piece goods and luxuries such as felt hats or electro-plated spoons. For these last there is a good demand. They may be used for their normal purpose but are mostly in evidence as ornaments, stuck in a man's armlets and leg bands on holidays. In return the brig will load coconuts and some copra and other local products. Our own ship's motor-boat takes passengers just short of where the surf is breaking and we transfer into a local canoe, the crew of which, after biding their time and throwing many a look over their shoulders, will suddenly with loud grunts and shouts paddle us on to the top of a wave which breaks on the beach and

carries us well up it. Not everyone escapes mishap, and ten or eleven years ago the Bishop of Rangoon and his wife arrived quite the wrong way up and completely soaked to their own and everyone else's great joy. And here I may say that the trip to the Nicobars possesses a great charm for the European, largely owing to the freedom and simplicity of everything. The people, while never rude or impertinent, care little for rank and practise no ceremony and are more likely to show deference to someone because they like him rather than because he is, say, the Deputy Commissioner. Add to this the feeling that bad temper is a positive sin and that the very appearance of the people is a joke—indeed, bad temper used to be a crime punishable with death. The result is an atmosphere of jolliness and good humour that lasts so long as there are Nicobarese in sight.

On one of my early visits to the islands I had to try two men of Teressa for devil murder, a shockingly cruel form of lynching. Accompanied by my family and one policeman I was piped down the side of the R.I.M. ship in which we were touring and was rowed ashore with due ceremony, an ensign in the stern and the Chief Commissioner's flag in the bow. At the top of the steep sandy beach was the Inspector of Police in his uniform, red U.P. head-dress and, to mark the fact that he was prosecutor, a black gown on his shoulders. Only the exercise of great agility brought us moderately dry ashore. Led by the solitary Inspector in his gown we walked to the village to find a crowd of forty or fifty naked Nicobarese. The Inspector found it difficult to stage the trial and sort out the two accused from the rest of the crowd. All was at last in order and the solemn trial of two men on a capital charge had begun: pleas of guilty were being recorded when there was a renewed hubbub. The officer who had escorted us ashore was thrust through the crowd with a gun in his hand and his trousers rolled up over his knees. Apologizing to the judge for his unintended intrusion he said he was in search of wild pigeon. There was immediate

questioning in the crowd and the two accused, smiling broadly, each put up a hand like board school boys in class and gave the required information. The officer melted away and the court proceeded in the space of some four or five minutes to convict the accused on their own statements and to sentence them to death. All knew this to be a sort of a bad joke on the part of the judge who, assuming the functions of Chief Commissioner, immediately commuted the sentence to one of two years' imprisonment.

Mus is the chief of the nine villages of Car Nicobar and is also the headquarters of the Assistant Commissioner and of the S.P.G. Mission and the school and hospital maintained by it with Government aid. An essential part of the village is the *El Panam* or public meeting place. On one side is the graveyard with each grave marked by a post like a rough capstan. Behind them are more round huts for social ceremonies but the two gabled huts are set aside, one for births and the other for deaths. In these two huts every resident of Mus, whose life works out according to plan, should first be born and finally die. Here lives a well-known resident, John Davidson, and his family. Like many elderly Nicobarese he can talk a little English in addition to Burmese, Hindustani, and possibly Malayalam. In the central group Burmese gives way to Malay in which language the Nicobarese transact business with the Chinese traders. The ability to pick up several languages is a general Nicobarese trait and is a proof of their quickness and adaptability.

Canoe racing is a very favourite sport. Fine, muscular, powerfully built young men form the crew. They include some twenty-five paddlers, four or five bailers, and a coxswain. After chanting an impressive chorus they proceed to launch the canoe, and run her out into the surf. On the day we said good-bye to the Nicobars, in February, 1931, we watched a race between two of these great canoes. A big swell was running and one canoe was swamped. The paddlers jumped over the side and held on while the bailers worked wooden

hand scoops with such a frenzy that in little over a minute, so it seemed, they had shovelled some tons of water out of the canoe. The paddlers then climbed in and went off again.

These canoes often visit the next inhabited island, Chaura. They bring back large earthen pots. These are the object of one of the most rigorous and probably one of the most salutary tabus among ocean peoples. The men of Chaura have established a tabu under which they, or to be exact their women, alone may make cooking pots for the whole of the population of the Nicobars of which they form little more than the twentieth part. People requiring pots must either await the arrival of a canoe from Chaura or must proceed to Chaura themselves. For the men of Car Nicobar the trip is fraught with danger. If they fail to sight the little desert isle of Batti Mal half way the strong currents that run may take them far away from the islands and out into the Bay of Bengal. For a Car Nicobar boy his first trip to Chaura is equivalent to his coming of age and is preceded and followed by befitting ceremonies. Not the least danger in former days was that of outstaying one's welcome among proud and contemptuous hosts whose supplies were limited and who would not scruple to slaughter their guests should the latter be unable to get away before the onset of the south-west monsoon.

The inter-island trade is regulated by tabus similar to that governing the trade in cooking pots. They all have their origin in the suitability of a particular island for the supply of a particular commodity. For instance the islands of Chaura and Car Nicobar have no trees for canoes and must procure the latter from farther south. But in the matter of pots it is known that the clay on Chaura has long been exhausted and all supplies of clay have to be fetched from Teressa. So strong is the moral ascendancy of the aristocrats of Chaura that the Teressa people dare not use their own clay and make their own pots. The effect and the value of regulating trade by tabu has only recently been recognized. The absolute

necessity of performing dangerous sea voyages fosters many good qualities—of enterprise, skill in seamanship, of power and endurance, of courage and pride, and other generous feelings which are all in evidence among the Northern Nicobarese but less noticeable in the Southerners whose wants are close at hand. The breakdown of these tabus would assuredly result in degeneration and the loss of manly virtues.

All authorities unite in considering the Nicobarese to be of Indo-Chinese rather than Tibeto-Burmese or Malayan stock. Philological research supports this theory, for the language is stated by Sir George Grierson to have affinities with the Mon and Tlaing languages of Tenasserim and the Khmer languages of Cambodia. Differences in customs particularly those concerning burial and disinterment suggest that the original immigrants were not quite homogeneous. Since then there has certainly been further dilution through contact with Tlaings, South Indians, Malays, and Chinese. The purest type is found in Chaura the people of which have an aristocratic contempt for all other Nicobarese to whom they are superior in culture and in tribal and economic organization. The Car Nicobarese are quite clear about *their* origin. They descend from a man and a dog blown out to sea on a raft. As proofs of the correctness of this pedigree they point to the ceremonial fillet said to recall the ears of their ancestress and to the loose end of the *Kisat* or loin-cloth, which symbolizes her tail, and also to the fact that they alone among the Nicobarese do not eat dog. The complexion of the Nicobarese is yellowish or reddish brown, and the hair straight. Good looks are not their strong point, especially among the middle-aged and the elderly, whose teeth are blackened and carry heavy incrustations of lime and betel nut. They are not of great stature but are remarkably muscular. The gait is sluggish and slouching but when climbing a coconut tree, paddling a canoe, or building a house they show great activity and application. Europeans who land for a few hours talk of them as lazy, but laziness is a relative

team. They are no more lazy, taking the climate into consideration, than rich men in England who have little work but many occupations. In Car Nicobar no one is poor or looks unhappy and no one need ever be hungry, so it is obvious that the output of work is sufficient. The excellence of their houses, canoes, and other works of their hands show them to be able and persevering craftsmen. Their dress or its absence you have noted. To it they are fond of making laughable additions in the way of head-dress. Top hats were the favourite but are now as rare as they are in Piccadilly of a forenoon in August. They make up the deficiency with soft hats, boaters, panamas, and gay coloured jockey caps. With the top hats have gone most of the names given to the chiefs and others by sailing-ship captains, names such as Corney Grain, Davy Jones, Ally Sloper, or Tin Belly. The mere introduction to a naked savage grotesquely hatted and announcing himself in passable English as Mr. Pell or Captain Dixon puts you in good humour for the rest of the morning, but you must laugh *with* him and not *at* him, for he has a keen sense of his own dignity and that of others.

The main foods of the Nicobarese through the ages have been firstly the local bread fruit which is a large cultivated *pandanus* and not the *artocarpus* of the South Seas, and secondly the coconut. The place of the former is largely taken now by imported rice but the coconut remains in favour as drink no less than food, for few Nicobarese drink anything but green coconut milk. The fruitfulness of the trees is immense and it is well that it is so, for a man of prosperous means uses up 300 nuts a day on his household and his pigs, dogs, and fowls. The food most beloved of all is pork, and the Nicobarese sets more store on his pigs than on any other of his property.

The people are undisguised animists who feel at all times the pressing need to scare away the evil spirits that are ever ready to do them harm—or, failing that, to propitiate them. This is carried out through exorcists known here as *menluanas*.

In Car Nicobar the novices training to become *menluanas* are called *maa fai*. Much of the propitiation of evil spirits takes the eminently practical form of feasting. Every two or three years in Car Nicobar—that is to say, as soon as the stock of pigs has recovered from the slaughter on the previous occasion—there is an ossuary feast held by the entire village. Six weeks or so before, they erect on the well-kept village square a very tall mast from which at some hazard they suspend all manner of choice foods for the dead. Rows of pig pens are built all round the square and as the time draws near great numbers of pigs are snared and penned. Many guests are invited and the festival begins with a whole night of singing and dancing round the tall mast. The next day is spent in killing and eating pork. Then the mast is cut down and thrown away. Some of the boars are semi-wild and these are let loose. one at a time, and played with by an unarmed man whose object is to seize the boar by the ears before the latter gashes him with his tushes. The guests leave that evening, and then next day comes the digging up of the dead of some two years ago. After a night of vigil the bones are cast into the ossuary, a piece of rough ground covered with undergrowth. More feasting follows, with single-stick play, wrestling, and a boat race, and a final great dance brings the long orgy to an end.

Immediately inside the entrance to Nankauri harbour lies a picturesque village. Its protected position allows the houses to be built on the water. In the shallows are planted tall bamboos bearing tufts of grass to scare away spirits that would invade the village from the sea. In the background are slopes of lalang grass crowned by casuarina trees under which lie the remains of the talented de Roepstorf murdered here in 1883 by a Madrasi soldier when in charge of the Settlement.

The anchorage at Pulo Milo, a small island off Little Nicobar, is the loveliest imaginable and hard to beat for scenery anywhere in the tropics. Behind are the wooded hills of Little

Nicobar rising precipitously to 1,700 feet. A paddle of a mile or less lands you on one of its beaches. Its 58 square miles only support a population of 57. Kanalla or Pulo Babi on the west of the Great Nicobar is generally visited by the station ship.

In the interior of Great Nicobar live the Shom Pen. The shore Nicobarese dread these wild folk so much that, except at Kanalla, they have evacuated the mainland and live on two or three small islands a mile or two off shore. A curious barter is carried out by the Shom Pen depositing rattan cane at certain trysting spots and coming back later to take away piece goods and other things left in exchange by the shore folk. For many years no European has encountered these shy elusive people, but the census party which I and my family accompanied in 1931 were fortunate in finding a small village of their's on the Alexandra river. Paddling very quietly up-stream we came on one of their huts on lofty poles —and were round the bend and at their village before they had time to run away. The village and its inhabitants are dirty and degraded. Our anthropologist, Dr. Naidu, made the most of the opportunity and took measurements of all the Shom Pen present.

The Christians in Car Nicobar number 340 out of a total population of 7,500, but as they include all the educated Nicobarese they exercise a growing influence in the island. They are expected to, and do, live a life of greater self-control than their pagan brethren ; less of the prolonged feasting and toddy drinking, and excessive chewing of betel nut which the older pagans indulge in, and less of the promiscuous love-making of the younger ones, and, of course, an avoidance of superstition, exorcism, and other animistic practices. Like converts elsewhere they are exceedingly devout. For the rest, they are not kept apart but are encouraged to remain Nicobarese and to excel in manly sports of every kind. Here I must stress one of the most charming traits of this people. All wish to excel but not to win at sports. Thus it is that

canoe races have no start and no finish. Betting is naturally unknown.

Taking the Nicobars as a whole what has been the result of annexation by the British and what further results may be expected? The Nicobarese had long enjoyed a settled life, a strong social system, and a distinctive culture and for centuries had been in touch with the outer world. Consequently our assumption of control did not disrupt their life or introduce new and fatal diseases. On the contrary we excluded all interlopers and exploiters and only allowed foreign traders in on sufferance. At the same time we left the people very largely to themselves, and interfered as little as possible in their internal affairs, except that we suppressed devil murder and dealt severely with all crimes of violence. The effect on the population has been that in the central group, where we found stagnation and apathy among the natives and left them to themselves without supplying them with education or adequate medical aid, the population has slightly decreased. In the two northern islands where the people were active and virile and where educational and medical arrangements have been better, there has been a considerable increase in numbers. The population of Car Nicobar has doubled in thirty years but saturation has not been reached for the island can still export 5,000,000 coconuts per annum. The rate of increase is unlikely to present any great difficulty for there is room on Kachal and Great Nicobar for any surplus numbers from the North for a very long time to come. The question of quality is more important than that of quantity. Here we find Mr. Bonington's Census report extremely interesting. He has two misgivings. The first is that the substitution of an Assistant Commissioner for an agent will mean eventually that the Captains of the villages will lose their authority and the tribal system will collapse. I think he has overestimated the degree of interference that has occurred, but he has done a service in pointing out the probable consequences of too much interference. His second

misgiving is about the consequences of the disappearance of existing tabus as a result of conversion to Christianity, or of sophistication through other means. He quotes a very interesting work by S. H. Roberts in *Population Problems of the Pacific* in which the writer says "Destruction of tabu and its consequent interests destroys the sociology of primitive tribes and their minds are left a perfect blank". The tabus Mr. Bonington has in mind are those which stimulate inter-island canoe voyages with their hardships and dangers. In his *Argonauts of the West Pacific* Malinowski has also pointed out the tonic influence of such voyages. So far there are no signs of any weakening of the trade tabus but Mr. Bonington has performed a service to the Nicobarese in drawing attention to their value.

In conclusion you may be interested to hear what the Nicobarese think of the impending changes of the Constitution. On the day I said good-bye to them in 1931 the nine Captains of Car Nicobar stepped forward and presented a petition begging that they should never be placed under the control of Indians who would inevitably ruin them. They begged to be put under the Colonial Office or, failing that, to be handed over to Burma. The petition was forwarded by me to Government.

Excavations at Kakzu (Qaṣr Šemamok)

The Italian Archæological Mission to Mesopotamia has begun excavations under the leadership of Giuseppe Furlani, Professor at the University of Florence, in the ruins of the old Assyrian town of Kakzu, of which the *tell* is now called Qaṣr Šemamok and is situated not far from the Zab al-A'là and to the west of the town of Erbil, the ancient Arba-ilu and Arbela. The excavations were begun in February and closed at the end of April.

The results were quite satisfactory. The Mission has discovered near the Curdish village of Sa'dāwah a trace of

the walls of the city, built with baked bricks by King Sennacherib, as is proved by an inscription of this king impressed on many of the bricks of the wall. To the west of the *tell* a necropolis has come to light, belonging to the Parthian period. Some beautiful sarcophagi glazed in green were found there, together with many vases of different shapes, beads, objects of iron and bronze, cylinder-seals, and many other antiquities.

Professor Furlani has been able to trace the course of the walls of the town and has discovered outside them an Assyrian house, posterior to the time of Sennacherib. According to the inscription found on them, some of the bricks belonged to the palace built by this king in the royal town of Kakzu. Fragments of inscriptions scattered on the ground prove that there was at Kakzu a royal palace in the middle-Assyrian period.

The Mission has also found prehistoric objects and some potsherds belonging to the same period. Some prehistoric finds have also been made in the neighbourhood of the concession. The excavations will be continued in December next. All the antiquities brought home by the Mission will be deposited and exhibited provisionally in the Museo Archeologico at Florence.

Islamic Research Association, Bombay

An appeal has been received in connection with the proposal to found an Association for Islamic Research in India. The initial rate of subscription has been fixed at the nominal sum of *Rs.* 3 per annum. As soon as funds permit the Executive Committee intend to publish a Journal to which the most eminent scholars will be invited to contribute.

All contributions should be addressed to :—

Asaf A. A. Fyzee, Esq.,
Secretary, Islamic Research Association,
43 Chaupati Road, Bombay, 7, India.

Notices

On account of the Summer Holidays it would be greatly appreciated if correspondence could be reduced to a minimum during the months of August and September.

The hearty congratulations of the Society are offered to Sir John Marshall upon the recent award to him of the triennial gold medal for historical research by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay.

It is hoped to publish in the near future, as a Supplement to the JOURNAL OF THE R.A.S., an Index of the Contents of the JOURNAL for the decade 1920–9. For this reason the contents of the October Number for 1933 and the Numbers for 1934 must be correspondingly reduced. The Editor regrets that the reduction will unavoidably necessitate a slight delay in the publication of certain articles and reviews.

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